

THE

# Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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## Ecclesiastical Affairs.

## ELECTORAL TEST QUESTIONS.

SUGGESTIONS to our friends as to the line of action they should adopt in the general election already commenced would, we feel, come too late to be of any practical value. The crisis has come upon us, and will presently have passed by, like a whirlwind, leaving neither time nor opportunity for that deliberation which ought to precede decisive action. As might reasonably have been anticipated, some difference of opinion has already appeared amongst prominent Dissenting gentlemen as to the general rule of conduct by which the friends of religious equality should serve their cause on the present occasion. They have been vehemently urged to preserve unbroken the alliance which, for a long succession of years, they have maintained with what is called the Liberal party. Nothing that we can now say will be likely to influence a single vote; but we are anxious to look at the question at issue between the two sections of the Nonconformist party, as it presents itself to our dispassionate judgment, rather with a view to consideration at some future time, than with any expectation of modifying immediate results.

In the first place, then, the experience of to-day appears to us to teach the comparative worthlessness of resolutions passed with enthusiasm at this or that representative conference, intended to bind the general body represented to any particular use of the Parliamentary franchise, when the occasion shall present itself for exercising the privilege. It is seldom expedient in political affairs to resort to menace. Almost invariably—so invariably, indeed, that the fact is taken into account by politicians—the bark is worse than the bite. We have seldom, if ever, witnessed any close correspondence between what is resolved upon in regard to an approaching general election, and what is done when the election actually takes place. Few men, if any, can determine long beforehand what will be the wisest use they can make of their electoral power; with a view to promote their special objects, when the next general appeal shall be made to the judgment and will of the constituencies. They cannot foresee the issues which will then be at stake. They cannot weigh the relative importance of their own particular aims with that of the unknown question to be submitted to them by the Crown. Nor

can they estimate with any approach to accuracy the feasibility of what they desire under circumstances the nature and force of which it is impossible for them to calculate beforehand. We must learn to fight the battle of those truths to which we attach supreme importance, as we fight other great battles of life—first, by assiduously cultivating unalterable fidelity to them; and, secondly, by freely availing ourselves of what may appear at the time to be the aptest mode of rendering service to them. We seldom shackle our own freedom without having to pay a penalty for the violence which we have unnecessarily put upon it.

We are, however, in the present instance clearly with those of our friends who are unable to discover any sufficient reason in the existing state of things for "giving to party what is meant for mankind." We strongly sympathise with those of them who think the time has come for us to vindicate our status and our claims. Union in the Liberal party is a good thing when it is cultivated with a view to great ends. Union for its own sake scarcely ought to be pursued at any cost. We do not for a moment contend that the programme sketched in somewhat shadowy outline by Mr. Gladstone, is not worth striving for. But it is not worth striving for at the sacrifice of that self-respect and moral consistency, which the Nonconformist bodies ought to estimate as of high importance. In spite of all that has been pleaded to the contrary—and very cleverly pleaded, it must be allowed—the instinctive sense of Dissenters of all shades of opinion tells them that, in regard to the educational policy of the Government at least, there has been a deliberate retrogression in favour of objects which they regard as prejudicial to national interests, and that that retrogression has been persistently, obstinately, and without any effort at conciliation, maintained down to the present moment. We may not be so apprehensive as many of our friends seem to be that the Education Act will eventually answer the purpose of ecclesiastics. We may have more implicit confidence than some others in the plastic power of the common sense and the love of justice which are characteristics of the British people. But we do contend that there are humiliations to which no body of independent men can knowingly subject themselves without inflicting deep and lasting injury upon the national character. Such a humiliation has been, we think, inflicted upon the friends of religious equality by the Vice-President of the Privy Council, and countenanced by the political sanction of the Premier. The offence strikes us as of a nature which cannot be lightly condoned, and we can only proclaim our own entire sympathy with those who, however painful it may be to their previous associations, are determined to call the chiefs of it to account.

The Nonconformist portion of the electorate has frequently been said to constitute the backbone of the Liberal party. The description may be a slight exaggeration; but, at any rate, Nonconformists are known to possess a very large amount of political strength, which, for the most part, has been wielded with intelligence and sobriety. Even in the midst of the present political excitement, the claims upon which they insist, not for their own sake, but for that of the country, are extremely moderate, and might easily have been conceded. That such claims have been persistently and even contemptuously

refused, can hardly be tolerated without immensely impairing the morale of the political section by which they have been put forward. Such a result is to be deprecated from a merely patriotic point of view—and much more by the Liberal party. If this is the price to be paid for union, then union will be purchased at too high a price. If Dissenters are now to be treated as of no account, and if they should be content to be so treated, one great and healthful element of the political life of this country, will be enervated or even paralysed. They will deservedly lose their status, and it is a question whether the loss of it will be a less injury to the whole body politic than to themselves.

## THE GENERAL ELECTION AND RELIGIOUS EQUALITY.

THE proceedings of every general election are shaped and coloured by the particular circumstances under which it takes place, and, for that reason, the anticipations with which it has been looked forward to are often by no means justified by the result. It has happened so in the present instance—the leader of the Liberal party having suddenly raised a special issue, which has had the effect of diverting, to some extent, attention from topics which were most prominent a few months ago.

At all the recent single elections the Conservative candidates have taken care to give full prominence to the Establishment question; and, notwithstanding that there was no disposition on the part of Nonconformists to make Disestablishment a test question, it seemed likely that the topic would be more earnestly discussed than any other when the constituencies were called upon to elect a new Parliament. Now it is true that the Conservative candidates, in their addresses, make stout declarations as to their determination to uphold the Established Church; but it is evident that they are far more solicitous for the interests of the Conservative party than for those of the Establishment, and feel keenly the disadvantage at which that party is placed by the Prime Minister's appeal to the financial susceptibilities of the British elector. On the other hand, we have no reason to be dissatisfied with the position in which the Establishment question stands at this election, or at the position of some other questions which stand related to it. He would have been a sanguine man who ten years ago would have predicted that at a general election in 1874 these would be cropping up, as they have done, in the addresses, and the speeches, of almost all the candidates, and would be exercising a perceptible influence on the fortunes of the Liberal party. That would alone be a great gain, but, in addition, we perceive indications of yet more solid acquisitions, both in the increased courage of the friends of religious equality, and the yielding, or the half yielding, tone of their Liberal allies. Whatever happens to the present Ministry, we do not think that the party which inscribes on its banner, "A free Church in a free State," is going to be crushed, or seriously injured, in the conflict now raging. There will be personal defeats, and accidents here and there which will, no doubt, be regarded throughout our ranks with deep regret; but the net result will, we believe, be more or less satisfactory.

It is around the education question that Nonconformist opinions, feelings, and desires chiefly revolve. If the Government were intended to shunt it out of their way, the design has signally failed—so failed, that we believe that at this moment it is occasioning more anxiety to the ministerial electioneering agents than any other aspect of the electoral contest. And it is the 25th Clause of the Education Act which is the point on which Nonconformity is concentrating its hottest fire—and that, not



merely because of its definiteness, but because it is the point on which the Minister of Education has chosen to take his stand.

"There is no principle at stake," says the *Times*, which is disgusted that Clause 25 should be "pushed into a place of prominence"; but to quote the language of an able letter to Mr. Gladstone, just issued:—"Mr. Forster distinctly makes the whole controversy to turn on principle. It is 'a miserable two-penny-halfpenny clause' on Wednesday night, but on the previous Monday it was the expression of a principle, to assert which he would risk the 'highest political prize which he could ever obtain.'"

The *Times*, in its fury at the resolution of the Bradford Dissenters not to return Mr. Forster again as their representative, is as one-sided in its reasoning as its *protegé*. For it says of the practical operation of the clause:—

We should have thought that humane and thoughtful men would be glad that a certain number of poor neglected little creatures should get their modicum of reading and writing, and be taught the first lessons of decency and morality, even though they were allowed to sing Church hymns and to repeat, with the usual very vague understanding of their purport, the dogmatic propositions of the catechism.

And we should have thought that anxiety for the education of these "neglected little creatures" might have led Churchmen to forbear insisting on their being taught Church hymns and catechisms. But no! the firmness of the Churchman is commendable; while that of the Nonconformist is "beyond the bounds of reason."

If, however, Nonconformists have, as is suggested, gone mad over this particular clause, there is a method in their madness which has proved most efficacious. If Mr. Forster is, as he admits himself to be, "obstinate" on its behalf, his colleagues have practically yielded the point which he is defending with an energy worthy of a better cause. Mr. Gladstone does not now hesitate to say, "I think that the 25th Clause is capable of being reconsidered, and my opinion is that it ought to be reconsidered." Mr. Goschen, more explicit, thinks it "a great pity that a clause should remain in the bill which creates this sense of grievance, and introduces into every school board apparently a most regrettable controversial element; and that that should not be remedied, if it can be remedied with justice to the parents of the children." Lord Frederick Cavendish, too, respects the conscience of the ratepayer as well as that of the parent, and "if no remedy can be found, will vote for the repeal of the clause." Mr. Lowe not only gives up the clause, but suggests a solution of the difficulty it was intended to meet. "Where," said the Home Secretary, "parents could not afford to pay for the education of their children, and did not wish to send them to the school board school, they should not be compelled to send their children to school at all. It was better that a few children should be left uneducated than that the great cause of education should be jeopardised." Elsewhere the closest adherents of the Government are giving way in the same fashion; so that Mr. Forster may presently find that he has sacrificed himself to maintain a position which nearly all his colleagues, both in and out of office, have resolved to surrender.

It is not in regard to this matter alone that there has been a tightening up of the Liberal party; for we believe that the force of Nonconformist pressure has made itself felt, and in a very effective way, in many quarters in which there had been great slackness in regard to other religious equality questions. In that respect, we anticipate that the Liberalism of the new Parliament, though it may be less in quantity, will be of better quality than in the Parliament which has lately been dissolved. If that be so, we shall owe the result to a disregard of the well-meant exhortations of such advisers as Mr. Baldwin Brown, who says:—"We have one thing supremely to do in the present election—to make Liberal union a reality and a power. Then, by the higher methods of persuasion, in which we of all men ought to have confidence, we have to convert the Liberal party." Liberal union may be good or bad, according to the ends at which Liberalism aims; while past experience has amply shown that it is far easier to convert the Liberal party when it aims at power than when it has obtained it. The demands of the friends of religious equality at this election have not only been most moderate, but they have, as we think, been urged with considerateness and discrimination. What is really objected to by some of their critics is, the making of any demands; but, though such

objections prevailed in years gone by, they will never prevail again.

Such considerations are of greater importance from the fact, that a Parliament elected so hastily as that which will assemble next month cannot be long-lived. Its dissolution at the end of a couple of sessions is a view already discounted by political observers. Hence it is not likely that the turmoil of the moment will be followed by lengthened repose. On the contrary, the present struggle will have been too brief to be exhausting, and will have been too narrow in its range to satisfy for long the ever-growing wants and aspirations of the nation. Probably we are but rehearsing now a drama which will be acted with far greater intensity of feeling in a comparatively short time. So let us look to the future in the light of the facts of to-day; and while we do our duty firmly and courageously, be stimulated by the thought that every blow struck now will presently enable us to strike still harder and more numerous blows at the system we assail.

#### THE LIBERATION SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

We last week published the resolutions of the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society, adopted after the appearance of Mr. Gladstone's address, together with the circular sent to the society's supporters throughout the kingdom. Since then the electoral committee has been sitting daily, and, both by post and telegraph, has been in communication with a large number of individuals.

The "Record of Votes" on ecclesiastical questions in the last Parliament has been extensively circulated, and has been sent down into all the constituencies, the Liberal members for which have either given bad votes, or have been absent from important divisions. In some cases the advice has been given that, unless pledges of improvement can be obtained, the friends of religious equality should let it be known that they do not consider the Liberal candidates worth supporting.

A special effort has been made in the metropolitan boroughs to secure the return of those who have hitherto voted for disestablishment, or are pledged to do so if returned, and the importance of eliciting the opinions of candidates on religious equality topics has been enforced. An advertisement which appeared in the principal London journals—including the local papers—furnished some useful information respecting the candidates, and closed thus:—"Friends of religious equality! Give your earnest support to those candidates who will advance your views. The metropolitan constituencies should return an increased number of members who are in favour of perfect religious equality, and they will do so if you faithfully discharge your duty."

In an article entitled "Our Position and Duties," the society's organ, the *Liberator*, says:—

Under any circumstances we should have had to make the election a means of advancing our principles, both in and out of Parliament. But we have also to secure the redress of grievances occasioned by the mistakes of a Government which, until lately, we have earnestly supported, and to prevent that Government going still further astray from, what we deem to be, the line of rectitude in matters ecclesiastical. It has erred in dealing with the education question. It has acted retrogressively in amending the Endowed Schools Act, and has neglected to secure a representation of Nonconformity in the constitution of the commission. It has declined to attempt a settlement of the burials question. It treated Mr. Miall with great shabbiness in the debate on the latest disestablishment motion.

The deep dissatisfaction which these occurrences have occasioned in Nonconformist circles has been for months known to the Government, and the consequences of neglecting to remove it have been distinctly announced. . . . There remained one more—the last—opportunity for healing the breach and re-establishing friendly relations between the Government and its most devoted adherents. It was in the preparation of Mr. Gladstone's address to his constituents, in which he sets forth at great length the grounds on which he asks for himself and for his Government renewed support. That opportunity has been lost.

What, then, is our duty, we ask? Not to wage war upon the Government, but to make the advancement of our objects, rather than the safety of the Government, our chief concern. If we can serve the Liberal party while serving our cause, so much the better for that party; but we are not called upon—as, under some circumstances, we might be—to make sacrifices on its behalf. A Liberal party and a Liberal Government are valuable only in proportion as they adopt Liberal principles and pass Liberal measures. It is for both that we ask our friends to strive at the coming election, and not for men who are willing to be just in everything of a non-ecclesiastical character, but care little for either the principles, or the wishes, of Nonconformists.

It may be added that an unusual number of the society's supporters, or advocates of disestablishment, are candidates for constituencies.

The canonists of the Episcopal Church in the United States give it as their decision that Bishop Cummins carries the virtue of Apostolic Succession with him into the sect which he is building up! This they regard as "the most painful feature of the separation."

#### THE ELECTORAL POLICY OF NONCONFORMISTS.

LIVERPOOL.

On Thursday evening there was a meeting of the Liverpool Nonconformist Association, at which Mr. J. J. Stitt reported, on behalf of the executive, the result of a deputation to the two Liberal candidates for the borough. He said that the resolutions of the Crewe conference did not ask from the candidates a promise to vote for the unconditional repeal of the 25th clause, because it was felt that the wisdom of Parliament might devise some way out of the difficulty surrounding that clause, and the matter was left for them to consider. The resolutions were placed before Messrs. Rathbone and Caine, and a reply had been received from them by letter. In the first paragraph they said they were not in favour of the unconditional repeal of the 25th clause, but they were in favour of its repeal if other means be provided for the education of children of indigent parents in elementary schools selected by the parents. It was something to have got this from Messrs. Rathbone and Caine, who did not say anything about their views on this question in their addresses. He (Mr. Stitt) thought there was a way out of the difficulty of the 25th clause which would not offend the conscience of any ratepayer. The clause was not objected to on account of the amount of the money involved, which was exceedingly small, but on account of the principle. Last year the whole amount spent under the clause was only 5,000*l.*, of which 3,400*l.*, was spent in Manchester and Salford alone, leaving only 1,600*l.* for the whole country. Seeing that the amount was so insignificant, why could not private charity provide the funds necessary for the education of these indigent children? That would meet the difficulty, and Messrs. Rathbone and Caine may have had something of that kind in view. Therefore he was not prepared to quarrel with the way in which they dealt with the 25th clause. (Applause.) As to the selection of the school by the parent, if the selection meant was simply a matter of convenience, he should not object to it, but if this alteration was to give a parent the right to demand that religious should be taught to his child at the public expense the principle was vicious. (Hear, hear.) Then the candidates said that their "personal preferences were in favour of the extension of school board schools"—a very great thing to say—but they considered the efficient and general education of the people of such paramount importance that they must reserve their right to consider freely proposed changes as they arise, and could not pledge themselves to support proposals, the full operation of which they could not foresee, and which might if adopted, exclude large numbers of children for an indefinite time from any education." With the prospect before them of their Roman Catholic friends insisting upon, in its fullest sense, denominational education for their children at the public expense in Ireland, he conceived there was nothing in the wording of this clause which would prevent men in whom he had not the confidence he had in Messrs. Rathbone and Caine so twisting and turning it as to be perfectly free to give their support to proposals in the House of Commons to extend the denominational system to Ireland. (Applause.) He did not like mere words and pledges. If men had to be fettered by pledges they were not fit for the confidence their constituents ought to place in them. A knowledge of a man's character and antecedents was a much better ground for confidence. Mr. Stitt concluded by moving:—

That, while the absence of any allusion to the education question in the address of Messrs. Rathbone and Caine rendered it needful for this committee to ascertain their opinions on that very important subject, this meeting having now heard the reply to the representations made yesterday by the deputation from the executive of this association, are glad to find that the views of the candidates, if not identical, are to some extent in harmony with what was desired, and that, interpreted by their well-known attachment to the great principles of civil and religious equality, the candidature of Messrs. Rathbone and Caine is now commended to cordial support. (Applause.)

Mr. Crossfield, sen., said he thoroughly agreed with the resolution, and he would second it. The Rev. Mr. Binns said he had no doubt Messrs. Rathbone and Caine were earnest in their attachment to civil and religious liberty, but that was an unsatisfactory way of leaving the matter. The reply seemed to him to be peculiarly misty, and, as Mr. Stitt himself had told them, it was susceptible of being interpreted in any way people thought fit. (Hear, hear.) They were certain to carry one candidate under any circumstances—"No, no! Yes, yes!"—let him be moderate or advanced; and it would be infinitely better for them to vote for that one on the highest and best platform they could have than a lower and inferior platform. He, however, did not feel at liberty to move an amendment.

The Rev. S. Pearson should not move an amendment to the resolution, but he should vote against it, that the candidates might know that there were a certain number of Nonconformists who would throw aside all personal feelings in this matter and be true to their principles. (Applause.) He was not afraid of Mr. Disraeli's going again into power, and their having still to pay the income-tax. He thought the Liberal party could only gain cohesion

\* "The Twenty-fifth Clause and the Liberal Party." By J. G. Rogers. (Clarke and Co.)



in the cold of opposition, and a year or two out of office would enable the party to mature the great measures Mr. Gladstone had foreshadowed.

Colonel Trimble supported the resolution. The Nonconformists, he said, had something more to think of than the mere repeal of the 25th clause; and whilst he yielded to no man in his hatred of that clause, he felt that it would be ungrateful to their late representative to oppose him if he did not pledge himself to vote for its repeal, after he had, in three successive sessions, voted in a most unpopular minority in favour of the disestablishment of the English Church. (Applause.)

After some remarks in opposition to the resolution from the Rev. W. Wardlaw Thompson, Mr. Lamport spoke in support of the motion, and protested against the assumption that the Nonconformists of Liverpool were in any way bound by what took place at Crewe. Mr. Snape and Mr. Golding supported the resolution, though dissatisfied by the reply of the candidates. The resolution was then put to the meeting, and passed by a large majority, only five hands being held up against it. The chairman expressed a hope that the resolution having been passed, the Nonconformists of Liverpool would do their utmost to give it due effect. The meeting then terminated.

#### NOTTINGHAM.

The Nottinghamshire Nonconformist Association on Friday afternoon unanimously adopted a resolution to the effect that Nonconformists should support only candidates who will vote for the universal establishment of school boards, the establishment of at least one board school in each district, and the unconditional repeal of the 25th clause.

#### LEEDS.

On Thursday evening a public meeting, to inaugurate the formation of the Leeds Nonconformist Association, was held in the Albert Hall, Mechanics' Institute, Cookridge-street, Leeds. There was a numerous attendance. The chair was occupied by Mr. W. H. Conyers, the treasurer of the association.

One of the honorary secretaries, the Rev. W. Currie, stated that the arrangements of the association were fully made some time back, and that since then, as every one knew, they had got into altered political circumstances in the country.

The CHAIRMAN said the association had been established to promote the following objects:—

1. To oppose the endowment by the State funds of any religious sect.
2. To combat the pernicious principle of concurrent endowment.
3. To secure such religious equality as that no person shall either be favoured or prejudiced before the law on account of religious principles.

The cause of their rallying together at the present time was to be attributed to the question which was now engrossing the attention of the country—he meant the education question. (Applause.) There were special reasons why the question should be specially taken up in Leeds. (Hear, hear.) The policy of their senior member, Mr. Baines, and the statements which had appeared from time to time in the *Mercury*, had not, in their judgment, represented the feelings of Nonconformists. There had also been a gentleness in dealing with Mr. Forster's bill, and a laudation for that gentleman, which had run counter with the feelings of the great body of Nonconformists on this question. The Nonconformists objected strongly to Parliament taking money from the country in order to support any religious denomination, and they especially objected to the public funds supporting those religious principles and teachings which they believed to be erroneous. (Hear, hear.) He was not disposed to narrow down the question to the 25th clause. There was a much broader question to which they objected, viz., that their money was taken for the purpose of teaching the Catechism of the Church of England, the worship of the Virgin Mary, and the infallibility of the Pope. (Hear, hear.) It was true that the Act specified that money was not to be applied to the teaching of denominational opinions, but the fact was that denominational teaching was imparted in their schools, which would not be the case unless the money of the Government was given to them for that purpose. This was the real state of the case, no matter how Mr. Forster might attempt to disguise it.

The Rev. J. S. Withington (ex-president of the Methodist Free Churches) proposed:—

That this meeting bears with satisfaction of the formation of a Nonconformist Association for this borough, and cordially approves of the statement of its constitution and aims, and of the appointment of its executive for the present year.

He rejoiced that the Nonconformist churches of Leeds had experienced a resurrection, and were now an embodiment and a lively and combined illustration of their principles, and that they were expressing their principles in relation to the present general election, for it so happened that, whether they liked it or not, religion and education in the present day were intimately associated with the Government. (Loud applause.) Mr. Joseph Lupton, in seconding the resolution, said he was rejoiced to find that Mr. Isaac Holden had accepted an invitation offered to him to come forward with Sir John Ramsden, and fight the battle in the Nonconformist interest. (Renewed cheering.) They owed a debt of gratitude to Mr. Holden that they would never be able to repay. (Applause.)

Mr. Alfred Illingworth, who was loudly applauded, supported the resolution. Although for his part he would have preferred a little less characteristic title for the association, yet under this flag

they might fight the battle as well and as earnestly as if they had adopted the Liberation Society's name. (Hear, hear.) His only hope was that they would not forget the working classes, who although, unfortunately, not so identified with the religious bodies of this country as they could wish, had on the other hand a vast and increasing amount of political power, and they must look to them in the future as the final settlers of this question of equality. (Applause.) It was of the highest importance that they should reach and educate them as to the value of the principles depending upon that of religious equality.

He confessed he was struck with the fact that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and at a moment when they saw realised household suffrage for boroughs, and at a time when they had got a Radical and a revolutionary administration in power, it should be thought necessary in self-defence, and for the furtherance of their views, to create separate organisations in order that the principle they held so dear, and the claims they pressed should reach the ears of their friends in the administration of this country. (Applause.) For this year this question had unsettled the whole country, and it was therefore time that it should be placed upon a sound and satisfactory footing—a footing on which they could securely build. Mr. Forster, in a speech delivered at Bradford the other night, coolly told his audience that the points upon which they differed with him were only twopence-halfpenny points. (Laughter.) Mr. Forster alluded to the 25th Clause, and called that, too, a twopence-halfpenny question. If, as Mr. Forster said, it was such a trifling question, why had he and his colleagues in office allowed a three years' discussion and a three years' fight upon it, and why did he now leave them to expect nothing from the Liberal Government? (Hear, hear.) It was sheer nonsense to say that the differences in this question were trifling. What did Mr. Bright—(cheers)—say on the question? He denounced the Education Act as the worst piece of legislation that any Liberal Government had dealt with for forty years. (Renewed applause.) This was the opinion of Mr. Bright, and if the Liberal party was to be again united there must be remission on the part of the Government, and the 25th Clause must be revised. (Cheers.) While holding in high respect their senior member, Mr. Baines, he (Mr. Illingworth) felt himself obliged to say that no one knew the amount of mischief that was done by Mr. Baines from the views he first gave utterance to on the education question. Happily, Mr. Baines had changed his views, and they could now work with him as one man. (Applause.) His recent outspoken sentiments would do a great deal towards putting the question on a proper footing, and they might look forward to the future with better hopes. He hoped they were arriving at that period when they would have to make their last demand on this question of religious equality. (Applause.) If religious equality were conceded, Parliament would have no occasion to occupy the greater portion of its time in the discussion of vexed questions such as the Burials Bill, the Episcopalian Church, and the affairs of the Scotch Church. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, he referred to the contest at Bradford, which, he said, had assumed a most curious aspect. The plans matured by the Liberals with the view of returning two Liberals had been upset by the appearance of a third candidate. The Conservatives had found themselves in a state of perplexity, and the Conservative Association had met, and passed a resolution pledging their party to unite with the view of securing the return of Mr. Forster and Mr. Ripley. (Laughter.) The Tory organ in the town approved of this step, and in a eulogistic article stated that on the education question Mr. Forster was on their side, and therefore they were in duty bound to pursue such a course as would not imperil his seat. The Conservatives found in Mr. Forster all they wanted, and saw no necessity for bringing out a second candidate. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. W. Best proposed:—

That in the opinion of this meeting no settlement of the Elementary Education question will be satisfactory which does not provide for the election of school boards in every district, with compulsory attendance, the repeal of the 25th Clause, and a just arrangement of the question upon a national and unsectarian basis.

(Applause.) Looking at the Act in the light of the principles of Nonconformity it was narrow, unjust, unsectarian, sectional, and therefore required alteration and change. (Applause.) Mr. Forster had been a traitor to their best interests. (Applause.) They had had the utmost confidence in him; he had come forward as a Radical, not as a Whig, and how had he served them? He had proved a traitor to his Radical principles, to his ancestry, and to all those expectations he had awakened in the hearts of the people when he first came forward as a politician. (Applause.) They did not ask any privilege or advantage over their fellow-citizens, nor any favour, but simply justice and right, and in the name of God they would have it. (Applause.)

Mr. W. Beckworth, ex-member of the Leeds School Board, seconded the resolution. Alluding to the blemishes of the Education Act, which was in the main a permissive measure, he said that in the rural districts where the influence of the clergy, the squire, and the wealthy farmer was dominant, they could decide amongst themselves as to whether or not they would have a school board. There were a large number of Nonconformists in the country districts, but yet the dominant party to whom he had referred might decide that if their children did not go to the church school they need go to no school at all. He was not prepared to deny the good intention of the 25th clause, but in many cases where it was carried out the result was to subsidise denominational schools out of the public funds, and thus the good effects it was intended to accomplish were overthrown by the wrong it actually did.

Mr. Edward Butler supported the resolution. He should like to gather up and tender to Bradford the sympathies of the meeting with the great struggle of the Liberationists there in vindicating the position of Nonconformists against the dictatorial

character and actions of Mr. Forster. (Cheers.) He trusted through the rout of Mr. Forster at Bradford, Mr. Gladstone and the Government would learn a lesson that would not soon be forgotten. At the same time he did not think they ought to oust him from the position he held as the head of the Government. Mr. Gladstone had done great things in the past, and when he disestablished the Irish Church he committed himself to principles which must ultimately bring about the disestablishment of the English Church. (Cheers.) He was quite sure that Mr. Gladstone was not the man to do anything from expediency alone.

The Rev. Dr. Cocker moved the third resolution, as follows:—

That this meeting, convinced of the necessity for combined action on the part of the friends of Nonconformist principles, in order that the great doctrine of religious equality, in all its bearings, may be better understood and applied, so that no person shall either be favoured or prejudiced before the law on account of his religious principles, cordially recommends this association to the support of the Nonconformists of Leeds.

The Rev. J. Wood having seconded the resolution, the chairman read a letter from Mr. Edward Baines, in which he said:—

You may have seen, from my published correspondence with the Rev. Henry W. Holland, how nearly my views on the education question correspond with those of the Wesleyan Conference and those of leading Nonconformists on the points which you consider most essential; and that they have done so for at least two years past. In religion, as you know, I have always been a Voluntary.

Ald. Carter, who was received with loud cheers, said he heartily rejoiced in this movement. Their standpoint now was perfect religious equality—(cheers)—and they were gradually but surely getting the little clouds charged with electricity, which in a short time would make Mr. Gladstone wonder what he was to do, and which would make him afraid of the thing he had created. (Cheers.) There was no bad feeling on the part of Nonconformists to the Church or the State, they simply objected to the two being tied together, believing that the Church would be all the better, and the State also much better, when separated. (Cheers.)

Mr. T. R. Clarke moved a resolution asking the meeting to render all the assistance in its power in returning to Parliament the two Liberal candidates Messrs. Baines and Carter. Mr. H. T. Mawson seconded the resolution, which was carried amid great enthusiasm, and without a single dissentient. The meeting, which lasted nearly three hours and a-half, separated with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

#### THE NONCONFORMISTS OF SOUTH ESSEX.

The executive of the South Essex Nonconformist Committee have issued an address to the Nonconformist electors in the division, in which they say: "It should be known that the happy result of our recent conferences was that both our members yielded fully to our wishes on the points of religious liberty now pressing. They both consented—1st, to vote against the 25th clause, or the payment of fees out of the rates to Church schools; 2nd, to vote for the reduction of the Government grant to Church schools to what it was before the Education Act (that is, to remove the increase of fifty per cent.); and, 3rd, to vote against applying compulsion where there is no board school to which Nonconformist children can be sent. As Messrs. Baker and Johnstone so freely and promptly acceded to our wishes, we feel that every Nonconformist in the division should support them in the present crisis with every activity and force they can command. And, while in common with the great body of Nonconformists throughout the kingdom we express our surprise and regret at the way in which Mr. Gladstone has failed to recognise the just claims of Nonconformists, and has almost entirely ignored the questions affecting religious equality, we should all the more support our own members who are, in this respect, more just than their leader. At the same time we cannot ignore the grand scheme of Liberal improvements to which Mr. Gladstone is committed—reforms which our representatives will fully support. We trust, therefore, that every Nonconformist will vote for our old and trusted members, Baker and Johnstone, and will bring all they can to the poll with them." The circular on the subject is signed by Messrs. Jas. Spicer, James Bishop, Albert Spicer, the Revs. John Curwen, E. T. Egg, and other gentlemen.

The following letters on this subject has appeared in the *Daily News*:

Sir,—Agreeing very heartily with you in desiring the thorough union of all Liberals in the coming election, I, in common with many Nonconformists, have looked anxiously for some sign on the part of our leaders of their wish to heal the differences which have existed for the last three years between us and the Ministry. But we have looked in vain. On the contrary, Mr. Forster defies us *à outrance*, and Mr. Gladstone ignores us, or rather lectures us, on the importance of that unity which his own Government has disturbed. He tells us, amid cries of "bravo" from some of his supporters, who must have been as oblivious as himself of the story of the Education Act, "I will not lead one section of the Liberal party in what I think an unnatural and fratricidal war against some other section of it." But if he did not do this himself, Mr. Forster did when, by the help of Tory votes, he more than once enabled a minority of the Liberal party to defeat the majority in relation to some of the distinctive features of the measure; and it is clear, if the occasion arises, that he will do it again. If we could be satisfied that Mr. Gladstone meant that this shall not occur, and that in the future the will of the majority of the party shall shape



its action on the education as on other questions, we could safely adopt his advice, and heartily co-operate with our old friends. In the absence of such assurance, it is certain that there will be a good deal of apathy and many abstentions among Nonconformists. They will vote for men who have shown themselves loyal and true, like the members for the neighbouring borough of Lambeth and others of the same order; but they will be very slow to give their support to men who simply avow themselves supporters of Gladstone and economy, but who, while elected to settle points which must be decided within three months, will probably have a voice in the legislation of the country on all questions for years to come.—Yours,

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

Clapham, January 29.

Sir,—There can be no question that my friend Mr. Guinness Rogers represents a large body of Nonconformists in the policy which he advocates. I am quite sure, and I have some means of judging, that there is a very powerful minority, to say the least, which gravely deprecates the separatist attitude with regard to the Liberal party which he, and those acting with him, seem to assume. It appears to us that our political leaders are bringing quite the wrong kind of pressure to bear. No doubt they have an illustrious example in the policy of the Anti-Corn Law League. But they have no question either quantitatively or qualitatively comparable with that, on which to base their action. The 25th clause by no means looms so largely on the political horizon, while in point of quality it belongs to a quite higher sphere. It is a question which emphatically demands the application, not of political brute force, but of argument, persuasion, moral pressure, and all the higher methods which bear on the spiritual convictions and sympathies of men. Neither on the education nor the establishment question is there any victory worth our striving for, but such as brings the mass of the people intelligently and conscientiously to our side. I am entirely at one with my friend in the objects at which he aims. But I have always felt that we Nonconformists have never fairly estimated the tremendous difficulty of getting a measure on the whole so Liberal, and so full of Liberal promise, passed at all in the religiously distracted condition of our country. I feel profoundly thankful that the Government was able to do so much, and I firmly believe that it is ready to do more when we have prepared the way. There seems, too, to be reason in the plea that a measure which has been so fully debated, and passed with such difficulty, should be tested awhile practically. I am quite sure that its practical working will reveal its defects, and bring the Liberal majority intelligently to our side. It would be well, too, to watch the issue of the Birmingham experiment of adm. entering the religion as a separate doctrine, by separate voluntary teachers. I have not the faintest expectation that it will solve the difficulty for us; but it is being tried on a great scale, and with thorough intelligence and energy. Let us see the result. We have one thing supremely to do in the present election—to make Liberal union a reality and a power. Then by the higher methods of persuasion, in which we of all men ought to have confidence, we have to convert the Liberal party. The times are working for us with tremendous pressure. We may well be patient. Oh! had we but faith to believe.—I am, &c.,

J. BALDWIN BROWN.

Sir,—Because I too desire the objects on which the heart of your correspondent, Mr. Rogers, is set—viz., the disentanglement of religion from the debasing influences of Government patronage and control, and the prosperity of Free Churches in a free State—I am led, in respect to the course which Dissenters should take at the present political juncture, to an entirely different conclusion from Mr. Rogers. The question, shall we give a strong, earnest, and united support to Liberal candidates generally, making the best of them we can, or shall we weaken the party which Mr. Gladstone so ably leads by our hesitation and desertion? Now, even if it is assumed that the accomplishment of our special aims is of immediate and primary importance to the nation (and I am not inclined to under-estimate them), I would still say, let us heartily follow and sustain the Liberal leader. Our children, and perhaps even some of us, may live to see a Prime Minister, as the result of a general election, introduce a measure for the disestablishment of the Church of England and Wales, and find him sustained by the strength of the triumphant Liberal party, and let us ask ourselves how we can best hasten this event. Shall we now stand aloof and try to form ourselves into a distinct organisation—a minority in Parliament, without one developed statesman who is willing to lead us, and no immediate practical policy, except the Burials Bill, and possibly secular education (though on this letter we are greatly divided, and the former is accepted by our allies); or shall we continue for another, and perhaps even for another Parliament to work with our old companions the advocates of peace, retrenchment and reform? Are we not agreed with them in the main as to the reforms which it is possible now to accomplish? and are they not willing and ready to co-operate with us? Are we not more likely to unite them hereafter in our especial movements by conciliation and co-operation with them than by hostility and estrangement? The time, I submit, is not ripe for abrupt separation; and if it is not, then let us forgive Mr. Gladstone for his reticence on the 25th clause, for the unfair constitution of the Charity and Endowed Schools Commissions, and for other minor offences; and, in remembrance of the fidelity with which he so recently expounded our principles in their application to Ireland, and in recognition of his consummate ability, his religious earnestness, and the many high and noble ends for which he serves his country, let us place him again at the head of a great united Liberal party. Protestant Dissenters can afford to be magnanimous. They have been so in many a past struggle, in which they have taken part not for personal and private ends, but for the national advantage, and not the less ultimately for the spread of the truths of which they are the witnesses. The method by which they have achieved their present position is still the one for them to pursue, and as a Nonconformist by birth, education, and conscience, I venture (my friend Mr. Rogers notwithstanding) to express the hope and urge the entreaty that there should be neither abstention nor

apathy in the Nonconformist votes.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,  
106, Upper Tulse-hill, Jan. 30.

EDWARD S. PRICE.

Sir,—I feel that my friend Mr. Baldwin Brown, in his zeal for Mr. Gladstone, has done but scant justice to me. I wrote not in a spirit of hostility, but of conciliation, influenced mainly by Mr. Gladstone's own words, and believing that the best way of meeting his expressed desire for reunion was to point out the difficulty in the way. I have no liking for a "separatist attitude," and least of all for one which would promote the triumph of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gathorne Hardy. I have spoken and worked for the Liberal party, have never failed to give a vote for its candidates when it was in my power, and have travelled hundreds of miles to do it; have cherished a strong attachment to our great leader, and, despite all differences of opinion, if I were an elector of Greenwich, would vote for Mr. Gladstone next week; but I cannot forget that while Mr. Gladstone was declaring that he would not lead one section of the party in "an unnatural and fratricidal war" against another, one of his lieutenants was doing at Bradford the very thing which was condemned at Blackheath—sowing division in the Liberal ranks, and trusting to Tory votes to give the minority of the party a victory over the majority, and all for the sake of what (as reported in the *Bradford Observer*) he describes as the "miserable twopenny-halfpenny 25th clause." The point of my letter was to show that while this state of things continued there cannot be union; to urge that the will of the majority should shape the action of the party on this as on other questions; and to suggest that Nonconformists should take care how that majority is composed, and not return men whose sole indication of Liberalism is that they profess themselves ready to vote for a popular Budget. I have no wish to bring undue pressure to bear on our leaders, and feel as strongly as Mr. Brown the inexpediency and injustice of attempting by any electoral coup d'état to force on reforms for which the public mind is not prepared. My contention is that the repeal of the 25th clause does not fall within this category; that the "miserable twopenny-halfpenny clause" is retained to please the amour propre of its author, and that the proposal to abolish it would be hailed with satisfaction by a large majority of Liberals as the end of a strife which is disturbing and dividing the party everywhere. When a Nonconformist so true, and yet so moderate, as Sir Titus Salt objects to be the chairman of Lord Frederick Cavendish's committee because of this obnoxious clause, it must be evident that the danger I indicated in my last is not imaginary; and when Lord Frederick, with that true political instinct by which the older Whigs avoided such divisions in the party as we have recently seen, declares that the clause is not worth keeping at the cost of division and defeat, it is tolerably clear we are not asking very much. Whether, in case of refusal, we ought to withhold our votes, except in those cases where long-continued personal service on the part of a candidate must counterbalance any dissatisfaction on a single point, is a question which each elector must decide for himself. Of one thing I am certain, that those who urge Mr. Gladstone to be true to his own instincts and develop the hints given in his address as to the improvements needed in certain points of the Education Act, of which this 25th clause must certainly be one, are doing him better service than those who encourage the belief that Nonconformists will support him and those who seek to confure with his name under all circumstances, and that it is safe, therefore, to let Mr. Forster pursue his own course.—Yours,

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

Clapham, Jan. 31.

#### OPINIONS OF LIBERAL MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES ON ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS.

The following are extracts from a number of addresses and speeches of Liberal M.P.'s and candidates during the present election. We do not record those of Conservatives, who to a large extent avow their determination to support the Established Church and religious education. Where this is not stated in the addresses, it is implied by their professions. We, therefore, confine ourselves to Liberals, though the list is necessarily fragmentary:—

(The Right Hon. G. J. GOSCHEN, City of London.)

As regards the great education question, I think it will not be denied that, taken as a whole, a great stir has been given to education from the measure which has been introduced by Mr. Forster. Every one must deplore that it has not been possible to pass such a measure without a great deal of controversy and without some bitterness. In that bill—I come to the point at once—there is a clause which has, after it had been passed, and not at the time of its passing, given great dissatisfaction to the nation. (Hear, hear.) The 25th clause was a clause which was not strenuously opposed by the Nonconformists of the House of Commons at the time. The clause is simply this. It enables, not compels, school boards to pay the fees for the children of persons so poor that they cannot afford to pay those fees themselves. And no doubt that seems at first to be a reasonable and fair proposal, and neither the Nonconformists nor the Government knew at the time of the danger that appeared to have been concealed in that clause. The point that has now arisen is this—a grievance has been discovered like the old grievance of the church-rates—namely, that a portion of the rates which are raised from all denominations alike might, where school boards intended to make such a decision, be applied to grants to denominational schools for the poorest class of children. Well, I think it is a great pity that a clause should remain in the bill which creates this sense of grievance, and introduces into every school board apparently a most regrettable controversial element; and that that should not be remedied if it can be remedied with justice to the parents of

the children. The parents of the children must also be looked to, and in the same way as I lay it down, that if I can I will be a party to remedy the grievance I have described. We must, however, take care that the children of the poorest classes of parents should not be placed in a worse position as regards choosing their schools than the children of a somewhat wealthier class. We must endeavour—and I believe it to be perfectly possible—to find a compromise by which the rates shall not be applied to denominational schools, while at the same time we endeavour to relieve the parents from compulsion where compulsion would go against their religious scruples. (Cheers, and "No compromise.") I hear a gentleman say, "No compromise." There need be no compromise as to the non-payment or the payment; but at the same time there must be co-ordinate legislation on the other point, as no Liberal would ever wish that a parent should be compelled to send a child to school against his religious convictions. And on this point let me say one word more. Surely I am not suspected by the Nonconformists of any want of liberality in this matter. I alluded in my address to the point of the University Tests Bill, the bill upon which I first had the honour of addressing this constituency. I alluded to that to show that that was a matter in which I had always taken the deepest interest, and I have voted on many occasions on other matters in which the Nonconformists take the deepest interest. I trust I cannot be suspected by that body of any want of a thorough appreciation of the claims to which they are justly entitled. (Cheers.)

(Mr. SAMUELSON Birkenhead.)

I am an upholder of religious equality, but I shall not attempt to deprive one denomination of its rights or possessions to elevate another, and I shall glad to support any equitable and just measure to enable the Church of England to reform herself, and render herself eventually independent of the fostering hand of the State.

Compulsory education is the necessity of our time, but the parent must be allowed to decide to which school the child is to be sent, and I could not sanction the violation of the consciences of any religious denomination.

(Mr. VILLIERS Wolverhampton.)

I would only make special reference to the question of education, which, with you as throughout the country, excites at this moment so great an interest. I notice with regret how much the ordinary decencies of even political controversy have in some places been violated, in consequence of the legislature having left the payment of the school fees of the children of indigent parents an open question; and now, when that which is known as the 25th clause has been so narrowed in its operation by the Act of last session, which requires the guardians of the poor to provide in all cases payment for the education of pauper children, it is surely not worth while to continue this clause in this statute, being, as it is, the fertile source of contention and of bitter and uncharitable feelings.

(Mr. WEGUELIN Wolverhampton.)

It is to be wished that he [Mr. Gladstone] had stated more clearly his intentions with regard to the improvement of the Education Act. In my opinion, the time has come when a step in advance may be made in the substitution of national for denominational education, and the repeal of the 25th clause of that Act appears to me to be demanded both by policy and justice.

(Mr. MUNDELLA, Sheffield.)

I do not consider that Mr. Gladstone's address deals in an adequate manner with the important question of national education. I believe the time has come when provision should be made to meet the full educational requirements of the country. I am in favour of the immediate supply of school board schools where any proved deficiency exists, and the enforcement by school boards of compulsory attendance throughout the length and breadth of the land. While respecting the right of managers of voluntary schools to give religious teaching therein, subject to the provisions of the Education Act, I would advocate the repeal of the 25th Clause of that Act. I am firmly convinced of the necessity of a complete revision of the laws affecting juvenile labour, which at present override and obstruct the successful working of the Education Act. The security and prosperity of a free country depend upon the intelligence of its people, and I shall not rest content until the population of the United Kingdom compares favourably in respect of education and intelligence with that of any other nation in the world.

(Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Sheffield.)

I believe that the doctrine of religious equality invoked successfully on behalf of the Roman Catholics of Ireland is not less entitled to respect when appealed to by all classes of Dissenters in this country. If I am returned to Parliament I shall vote for the disestablishment and disendowment of the State-Churches. I consider that the Church of England has no exclusive right to a great portion of the vast funds which it now enjoys, and which I maintain to be the property of the nation, and resumable at its will; and I am further of opinion that the best application of this national property will be found in the establishment of a system of free schools, such as now exist in the United States, in Australia, and in many parts of Europe. The recent action of the Government with regard to elementary education meets with my earnest reprobation. Their policy has been disas-



trous to the universality and character of the education given, while it has violated the principles of religious equality and the rights of conscience. I am anxious to see the instruction of the young entrusted to the representatives of the parents and the ratepayers, and not to the priest of any sect or denomination. To secure this, I would vote for universal compulsory attendance, universal school boards, and for complete separation between the religious and the secular instruction.

(Mr. W. H. LEATHAM, West Yorkshire.)

I have for thirty years been a member of the Church of England, and though prepared to see any reasonable reform carried out in Church matters, where Dissenters can show a real grievance, or where the Church requires reform, I am not prepared to disendow or disestablish the Church.

When in Parliament I voted for the abolition of compulsory church-rates, and had I remained in Parliament should have voted for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, as an anomaly and a grievance to the Roman Catholic population.

(Mr. John CROSSLEY, Halifax.)

I am in favour of the amendment of the Education Act, not only the 25th clause, but by other alterations, which seem imperatively required in order that the school board system of education may be rendered universal, and more effective in its operation. I am also for religious equality, not from antagonism to any Church in its religious capacity, but from my conviction that the interests of religion itself will be best promoted by the faith and voluntary liberality of the people.

(Mr. MATTHEW WILSON, North-West Riding.)

The education question has excited the greatest interest in the country at large, and some expression of my opinions on that subject may be reasonably expected. I am in favour of the universal establishment of school boards, and distinctly averse to the appropriation of public money for denominational purposes. I would also seek to accommodate the 25th clause of the Elementary Education Act to the wishes of those to whom it is obnoxious, and in case of failure I should vote for its repeal.

(Mr. CARTER, Leeds.)

Nothing ought to, and nothing will, satisfy the Nonconformists of this country but perfect religious equality. We shall never enjoy that state of things so long as one sect, to the exclusion of all others, is patronised and supported by the State. I shall strive for the separation of Church and State, believing that a State Church is the cause of all those minor grievances of which Nonconformists have to complain, and which, especially to the more enlightened and more extensive portion of them, are so irritating and annoying.

(Mr. DIXON, Birmingham.)

My views on the question of elementary education are too well known for it to be necessary that I should restate them, further than to say that I think all parties ought now to unite in passing a law for making school boards, and compulsory attendance of children at school, obligatory in every part of the country, and that no Administration will be worthy of the confidence of the advanced section of the Liberal party which does not take the earliest possible opportunity of repealing Clause 25, and of retracing those steps which under the Education Acts of 1870 and 1873 have given so much just discontent to the advocates of perfect religious equality.

The religious controversy excited by the operation of the Education Act of 1870 is preparing the public mind for a full consideration of the various questions arising out of the connection of Church and State. I look forward without apprehension to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England. The interests of the Church and the cause of religion will alike benefit by such a measure.

(Col. KINGSCOTE, West Gloucester.)

As I regret to see that the working of the Education Act of 1870 does not give satisfaction to an important section of the Liberal party, I shall be prepared favourably to entertain proposals for its modification.

(G. F. MUNTZ, North Warwick.)

I am sensible of the great work hitherto done for education by denominational schools, and I am of opinion that the State should continue to recognise their usefulness by liberal aid, based on the results of examination in secular education only; provided that religious teaching is not given after a time fixed in the morning, when secular instruction commences. But I am firmly convinced that a satisfactory national education cannot be ensured without a more perfect organisation; that compulsion is impracticable with simply a denominational system; and that, sooner or later, school boards must be universally adopted.

Taught from childhood to reverence the Bible as the Word of God, and to regard it as the only source of true happiness and well-being of mankind, I can never conscientiously prevent its presence anywhere. With the daily evidence before us that "it is unhappily true that enormous masses of our working classes never cross the threshold of church or chapel"; that the churches have not brought them under religious influence, I dare not interfere with any existing institution by which the great truths of Christianity may be inculcated.

I am entirely opposed to the 25th clause of the Education Act. It is unnecessary in the interests of education, and unjust to those who, from conscientious reasons, object to contribute to the funds from which fees to denominational schools are paid.

(J. J. COLMAN, Norwich.)

Whilst desirous to promote education, I have regretted to see the denominational and sectarian strife which some parts of the recent Act have caused, I trust, however, that by mutual concession and forbearance the priceless blessing of a sound education may be brought within the reach of all.

(Mr. HODGSON, Bristol.)

With regard to the education scheme, he wanted to do away with the 25th clause, and to reserve to parents the right of sending their children to the school they liked, and would make additional schools; but if parents chose to send their children to a voluntary school they should be educated gratis in virtue of the grant which they received from the Consolidated Fund. It seemed to him that that was a good and fair compromise, and such as he would support.

(Sir R. CUNLIFFE, Flint Borough.)

He had approved of some portions of the Education Act, and thought it his duty to vote for the repeal of the 25th clause. Once for all, let them get rid of that baseless cry of a godless education. Religion was too deeply implanted in the minds of the people of the country, and in an especial degree in the hearts of Welshmen, for it to be a question whether they were going to give their children a religious education or not. What they said was that it was not right to take the money of the ratepayers and apply it to some kind of religious education from which the ratepayers conscientiously differed.

(Lord F. CAVENTISH, North-West Riding.)

He had voted for the 25th clause because he thought the parent who was compelled to send his child to school ought to choose the school; but, at the same time, he respected the conscience of the ratepayer who objected to pay for denominational teaching, and if no remedy could be found, he would vote for the repeal of the clause.

(Sir J. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH, N. E. Lancashire.)

The party to which he belonged would not reduce the Church of England to the narrow dimensions of a sect. They did not wish that some petty clique should dominate in the Church and impose its views upon it. They said the Church of England should be a National Church—broad and comprehensive; that it should include Pusey, Arnold, Alford, and Dean Stanley—(cheers);—that it should include all men who worshipped God in sincerity and in truth, and could adopt its ritual and Book of Common Prayer. (Hear.) He said, "Away with narrowness and sects in the Church. Let us have a broad, generous, national Church, and not a purely sectional Church to satisfy the mean aspirations of some petty clique." (Cheers.) Unexpected difficulties have arisen in the working of the Education Act, 1870. The efficacy and the extension of the power of enforcing school attendance are so important that it is necessary, whenever the 25th section is dealt with, in deference to conscientious scruples, that no excuse shall be given to apathetic parents to resist the law; while, on the other hand, parental authority is sustained on behalf of all parents who, however indigent, desire to direct the education of their children.

(Mr. JOSEPH KAY, SALFORD.)

I am in favour of the education of all children, with complete guarantees to parents that sectarian teaching shall not be permitted or be possible in any school supported by public taxes during school hours, and simplification and codification of our laws and procedure.

(Mr. HENRY LEE, Salford.)

I am in favour of complete religious equality, as a measure which, in my opinion, cannot long be withheld.

While sensible of the advantage of religious education, which I have advocated and been engaged in all my life, I desire to see the Elementary Education Act made truly national, thus affording to all parents the opportunity of procuring for their children an intellectual and moral training, without sectarian bias, believing that religious instruction can best be given at home, or through the voluntary efforts of the various denominations.

(Lord E. CAVENTISH, N.E. Lancashire.)

I deeply regret that a clause in the Education Act has met with considerable opposition from an important section of the Liberal party. I should gladly support any proposal which would remove the grievance, due respect being had to parental authority and the rights of conscience.

(G. TOMLINS, East Suffolk.)

The difficulties presented by the subject of elementary education are undoubtedly great, but I trust that they may not prove insurmountable. I am bound, however, to say that should no desirable compromise be found possible, I feel the operation of the 25th clause of the Education Act, as it now stands, to be so oppressive on the Dissenting body that I should, in such circumstances, vote for its repeal.

(Professor THOROLD ROGERS, Scarborough.)

The maintenance of an Established Church is a violation of the principle of religious equality, and a fruitful source of mischief. At present it hinders the education of the people, and turns religion, which is in its nature wholly beneficent, into malignant controversies. It is found impossible also, under the existing machinery of Church law to arrest the licence which, while claiming the protection of a Reformed Church, is bent on reversing the principles of the Reformation. I should vote for the disestablishment of the Church. I believe that the education of the people and the growth of

religion can be effected only when the State enforces the former, and leaves the latter to purely voluntary agencies. I should therefore resist the grant of public money to the teaching of dogmatic opinion.

(Mr. A. BUCKLEY, Ashton.)

In questions ecclesiastical and political I have ever been identified with the party that has contended side by side with our Catholic fellow-countrymen in achieving Catholic Emancipation, and I am for strict justice to all sects alike.

(Mr. CORBETT, Droitwich.)

It will also be my endeavour to maintain the Constitution under which England has risen to its present position in the scale of nations, and the people have become free, prosperous, and contented; and I shall, as an attached member of the Church of England, support all measures calculated to promote religious education, and at the same time to secure to all classes, irrespective of sect, the free exercise of the rights of conscience.

(Mr. BEAUMONT, South-West Yorkshire.)

The disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England was a matter entirely apart from that of the Irish Church question. When the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England became a question of the day and a necessity to the country, then he would vote for its disestablishment and disendowment, and not before.

(Mr. G. W. HASTINGS, West Worcestershire.)

While myself a steadfast supporter of the Established Church, I am, as I have always been, earnestly desirous of abolishing every restriction of conscience, and of removing any real grievance felt by the Nonconformists.

(Sir JOHN RAMSDEN, South-East Yorkshire.)

We are sure to hear a great deal about this unhappy 25th clause of the Education Act. To speak strongly my own opinion as to that clause, I wish with all my heart we were well rid of it. It is not a question which ought to divide the great Liberal party. It is a question which admits of conciliation and compromise, and Mr. Gladstone, in his address, has held out the olive-branch of peace to the extreme opponents of the measure. I, for one, shall heartily join in any compromise of that question in which the whole Liberal party can be united. I think it is not worth all the discord and heartburning it has caused; but I will be plain with you: I will not break up the Liberal party for the sake of that one clause.

It is said that at a Ritualist church in the West-end hymns are partly sung in Latin.

Father Chiniquy, a convert from Rome, will lecture for two months in England on the errors and designs of Popery.

The *Watchman* says that Mr. Joseph Foster, a wealthy gentleman residing at Ashford, Kent, disgusted with Ritualism, has given a site, and is about to erect on it a handsome stone church, at his sole cost.

AN ARCHDEACON'S IDEA OF SPIRITUAL DISTRESS.—Archdeacon Utterson, in an address at Old Malden, in support of the proposed memorial to Bishop Wilberforce, stated that the population of the South of London had in ten years increased 28 per cent., and that "during these ten years no provision had been made for the spiritual welfare of these poor people." "What," he asked, "were nine clergymen at work among 600,000 persons?" In a letter to the *Surrey Comet*, "A Churchman" thus objects to the archdeacon's mode of making out a case for the projected South London Mission:—"All Christian men will agree with the archdeacon that such 'facts' ought to stir the heart. But will the archdeacon tell us where he gets such 'facts'? Assuming, however, their correctness, may I ask, does he believe that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ can be preached by clergymen only, and dare he deny that any one converted to God—be he clergyman or layman—may, and does in greater numbers than this, effectually preach in South London the everlasting truth? It is most ungenerous to ignore the labours of the many eminent and active Dissenting ministers, not only in and out of their large and crowded chapels, but also in their numerous mission and schoolrooms, with all the subsidiary agencies carried on in connection therewith. It will not do for the archdeacon to ignore the fact that the Rev. Chas. Spurgeon, the Rev. Newman Hall, the Rev. G. M. Murphy, and a host of other Dissenting ministers, assisted as they are by a considerable number of active and intelligent laymen, city missionaries, scripture readers, and Bible women, are working with vigour for the spiritual good of their South London brethren."

MR. GORDON'S LIBERATION LECTURES.—Local papers, in various and widely-separated districts, are full of reports of Mr. Gordon's lectures, which have been enthusiastically received. Election reports, however, prevail in our columns just now, and we can only mention the above. At Todmorden, on the 19th, Mr. Gordon was at Idle, near Bradford, on the 20th, Little Lever, near Bolton, on the 21st, Brighouse (reply to Rev. Mr. Berger's reply) 22nd, and Southport 23rd. The 24th found Mr. Gordon at Pudsey, near Bradford, and the 29th at Bingley. On the 30th and 31st great local excitement culminated at Denholme, near Bradford, in some extraordinary scenes. Mr. Gordon had lectured there on the 14th, and pledged himself, if at all possible, to attend a reply then hinted at. Accordingly, when it was announced that the Rev. Mr. Berger would reply on the 30th, and, further, that Mr. Gordon would attend—and that by invita-



tion of the chairman, which meant fair debate—the utmost interest developed, and, long before the time of commencing, numbers of persons found themselves unable to obtain admission. In consequence of an attempt, after all, to prevent Mr. Gordon speaking, a second meeting was held, amidst great enthusiasm, and it was midnight before this broke up, and then only by a second vocal effort of Mr. Berger to sing the national anthem. Such was the interest and satisfaction with Mr. Gordon's efforts that, at the close of Mr. Gordon's reply next evening, a handsome testimonial—the spontaneous resolve of the day—was made to him, amidst ringing cheers. The inscription on the silver gift has yet to be inscribed.

**MR. BEECHER'S PEW AUCTION.**—The annual sale of the pews of Plymouth Church, New York, took place on the 6th ult. Before business commenced the Rev. H. Ward Beecher said:—"Many reports were circulated about his going to England to preach. He would go if his congregation urged him very hard, but he would do just as they said, and would only go if pushed over. He had no desire to preach anywhere than in Plymouth Church; that suited him, and he supposed that after the pew-holders had bought their seats he belonged, to a certain extent, to them. He would, therefore, stay if they requested, and the thought of his being there should not interfere in the slightest with the price of the pews, and he hoped it would not. The object of the meeting was to listen to the auctioneer, not to him, and he should give way." Then there was a general rustle of papers and pencils and an influx of coughing. The auctioneer gave the people some time to get composed, and then—"How much do you give me for the first choice?" he cried. "How much for the first choice? Now, don't be bashful. Make your bids. Give me an offer. Remember all you offer is premium over and above the regular price of the pews. How much now?" "Two hundred," said one. "Two hundred?" began the auctioneer, in the usual shop style. "Who will say fifty?" "Fifty," said another. "Two hundred and fifty, seventy-five, three hundred, three hundred and fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, ninety, going at ninety, once; ninety-five, ninety-five. Give us five more while you're about it and make it an even number." "Four hundred!" The bidder selected his pew, and the auction went merrily on, so much so that Mr. Beecher was almost beside himself with joy. Descending from the platform, he became seated beside a reporter for one of the New York papers. "Well, it's going better than I expected," he said gleefully, as he rubbed his hands with joy. "What do you think of those for panic prices? I guess the sale will foot up more than last year." "You seem to be very happy about this," said the reporter. "I am, to tell you the truth. It shows that there's life in the church, and when in such times as these we bring such prices it means something. And, besides—here Mr. Beecher's face became grave—"there have been things going about town, and it is just as well to knock them on the head by showing the people that get them up that some don't believe the stories. The prices brought are a vindication in themselves. But no more of that. I am glad in my heart the seats are selling so well. Some people, you know, think that we're a dead church. The other day a lady and her daughter applied to Dr. Cuyler for a letter to this church, and that reverend gentleman said, 'Oh, don't go down there—you'll find yourself in a decaying and fast-dissolving church.' Some people do have a great deal of Christian charity, you know; but they came, nevertheless, and I suppose they are being gradually lost beyond redemption. We can stand this sort of thing, you know. I, myself, am only sorry for Brother Cuyler." Mr. Beecher rattled on in this way for some time, pleasantly chatting and occasionally saying a passing word to members as they passed in front of him. The auctioneer was working hard all the time, and at length presented Mr. Beecher with a total of 11,886*l.*—*Weekly Review.*

### Religious and Denominational News.

**THE REV. R. H. HUGHES**, of Beaufort, has received a call to the pastorate of the church at Bethel Chapel, Cwmbran, Monmouthshire.

The Ashantee war has stopped the missionary work of the Wesleyans in that region. Many chapels have been destroyed, and the schools and congregations are dispersed.

**TUNBRIDGE WELLS.**—A second Congregational church has been opened at Tunbridge Wells. It is situated in the Albion-road, and the cost, about 2,500*l.*, has been defrayed by the liberality of J. Remington Mills, Esq., and Joshua Wilson, Esq. It is a handsome structure in the Gothic style of the thirteenth century, and is capable of seating 400 persons. The sermon at the opening service was preached by the Rev. James Parsons, late of York. The Rev. E. Cornwall has accepted the pastorate. The building was much needed, as the Episcopalian service in the district was of a very Ritualistic type.

**BURDETT-ROAD, STEPNEY.**—At the annual meet- of the Burdett-road church, Stepney, held on the 21st ult., Dr. Halley presiding, it was stated that during the three-and-half years' pastorate of the Rev. J. L. Pearce the membership of the church had advanced from 35 to 145. New schools had been built, costing 1,400*l.*, towards which

1000*l.* had been contributed. The Sunday-school had more than doubled its members, and a Christian Instruction Society formed, which visits 1,500 families weekly. The substitution of regular weekly offerings for quarterly pews had resulted in a large increase for the year. Week-day services are held for children, and a children's Christian band had been formed with the happiest results.

**LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.**—We understand the directors have made the following satisfactory arrangements for the next anniversary of the society in May:—The sermon at Surrey Chapel, by the Rev. William Arnot, of the Free Church, Edinburgh. The sermon at Westminster Chapel, by the Rev. Dr. Mellor, of Halifax. Chairman at the meeting at Exeter Hall, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor. The speakers, in addition to the missionaries who have kindly promised their help are,—the Rev. Dr. Raleigh, the Rev. the Dean of Canterbury, the Rev. Dr. Stoughton, and the Rev. J. P. Chown, of Bradford.—*English Independent.* [Mr. Ward Beecher had been invited to preach the annual sermon, but whether the invitation was withheld or he has declined, he will certainly not come over.]

**SPECIAL RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN FEBRUARY.**—A circular has been issued by the London Congregational Union to the numerous churches which, during the month of February, intend to hold special religious services. It is proposed that, where desirable, a week of special services shall be held in each place of worship; the nature of the services being left to the decision of each church, help being proffered by other churches. It is urged that as the ordinary means hitherto employed fail to reach large numbers who do not hear the Gospel, and thousands who hear but do not profit by it every Sunday, it is time to try some new methods. The Archbishop of York has issued a pastoral letter recommending the London Mission as an effort which concerns the whole country, and requesting the people of his province to give it a place in their daily prayers.

**THE LECTURES AT EXETER HALL** in connection with the Young Men's Christian Association were resumed last week, when the Rev. Dr. Cumming lectured on "Pilgrims, Ancient and Modern." Last evening, in the absence of the Rev. Dr. Fraser through illness, the Rev. Charles New delivered a lecture on "David Livingstone," in which he traced the course of the great explorer's travels, and pointed out some of the results which might be expected from his labours, while paying a tribute of respect and affection to his memory. He feared the news of the Doctor's death was true, although he still hoped it might not be so. Mr. New also objected to Sir Samuel Baker's recent assertion that Exeter Hall speakers knew nothing about the Africans, and asked if that could be said with truth of such men as Moffat and Livingstone, who had both spent their lives amongst them. In conclusion, he said the best tribute that could be paid to the memory of Livingstone would be to use every endeavour to carry out his chief design, the total abolition of slavery in Africa.

### Correspondence.

#### THE TOWER HAMLETS ELECTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Your last number contained, almost side by side, two advertisements from Nonconformist bodies, so antagonistic to each other that their appearance has occasioned feelings of surprise which ought to be publicly, as well as privately, expressed.

One was an appeal to Nonconformists from the London Nonconformist Committee, urging them to take steps for the assertion of their principles at the approaching election, and to obtain candidates who would represent those principles, "irrespective of political parties."

The other advertisement described the result of two meetings held by a body called "The Tower Hamlets Nonconformist Liberal Association," and states that two meetings had been held, to consider the course to be adopted at the election. At these meetings, we are told, "a strong expression of opinion was elicited that Mr. Gladstone had not fairly considered the position of Nonconformists in his recent address, and that the time had arrived for more active steps to be taken to advance the principles they consider of paramount importance." In addition, "the claims of the various candidates were carefully considered, and deputations appointed to confer with Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Samuda to ascertain their opinion on the following points:—'The Education Act,' 'the Disestablishment Question,' 'the Burials Bill,' 'the Opening of the Museums on Sunday,' 'the Licensing Question,' and 'Epping Forest.'"

Up to this point nothing could be better, or more consistent, than the proceedings of these Tower Hamlets Nonconformists; but what followed?

Of Mr. Ayrton it is said that the report received "was deemed generally satisfactory"; but, as he voted against Messrs. Richard's and Candlish's education resolutions, and twice voted against the disestablishment motion, Nonconformists out of the Tower Hamlets would much like to know what was the character of the statements which were received with such complacency.

But while Mr. Ayrton, notwithstanding that he is a member of the Government, could satisfy the depu-

tation, Mr. Samuda, though in an independent position, failed to do so, and therefore of him it is expressly said:—"Mr. Samuda held views out of sympathy with Nonconformists on the questions asked, except the Burials Bill."

There were two other Liberal candidates, and of one of these it is reported that the fact of his being in the liquor trade, "precluded the possibility of entertaining Mr. Currie."

The remaining candidate was Captain Maxse, who is not only a Radical and an able politician, but is distinctly in favour of disestablishment, and sympathises with the claims of Nonconformists in regard to national education.

Of course, your readers will say, under these circumstances, the Tower Hamlets Nonconformist Liberal Association declared in favour of Mr. Ayrton and Captain Maxse! Not only did they not do so, but they actually declared that "Captain Maxse, by his advocacy of the opening of the museums on Sunday, and his sympathies in favour of Home-Rule, precluded a consideration of his name."

Then this committee, we are informed, "after careful consideration, passed the following resolution:—'That, under the circumstances in which we are now placed, and having regard to the interest of the Liberal party, it is deemed advisable to urge upon all their friends the support of the old members, Messrs. Ayrton and Samuda.' They also believe it to be a false policy for any Liberal elector to abstain from voting on the ground that the old members are not in sympathy with them on all points, and would, therefore, urge that on the day of election each Liberal should feel it a duty incumbent on him to exercise his franchise."

This astounding statement would of itself be censurable enough; but the reason assigned for it is so grotesque, that one could laugh outright at these wise men of the east, if the matter were not much too serious for amusement.

What has the Sunday opening of museums to do with this particular election? Is Captain Maxse's view respecting it of any more practical consequence than his views of the millennium? What mischief can happen in regard to this particular question if Captain Maxse is elected, instead of Mr. Samuda? Then as to "home rule"—I see that the Captain disclaims being a "Home Ruler," except in a very limited sense, and a sense in which probably many Liberals agree with him. But why, "under the circumstances in which we are now placed," make an English election turn upon such a question? And, I repeat, what harm will be done in respect to it, if Captain Maxse be elected?

Yet because his opinions on these out-of-the-way and unpractical questions do not agree with those of the Nonconformist Association, that body will not even so much as consider his name, and treat him as though he were as unworthy of notice as a convict or an idiot. And, at the same time, it supports Mr. Samuda, notwithstanding that, on the most pressing, practical questions of the hour—the very questions on which the general election is turning—he "holds views out of sympathy with Nonconformists."

Sir, there may be reasons for withholding Nonconformist support from Captain Maxse with which I am unacquainted. I can deal only with those which are assigned, and to me they seem utterly futile and ludicrously inadequate. I do not know how many Nonconformists are represented by the action of this organisation, but I hope that a still larger number will vote for Captain Maxse. The borough which returned George Thompson to Parliament with enthusiasm, because he was a disestablisher, as well as a Radical, ought to wipe away the disgrace of being misrepresented by two members who vote against disestablishment. In such a borough it were better to "let in a Tory" than a Liberal who, on ecclesiastical questions, gives Tory votes.

AN OLD CAMPAIGNER.

Feb. 3, 1874.

#### "WERE TITHES VOLUNTARY GRANTS?"

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Permit me to congratulate your readers, amidst all the present electoral din, on the clear and forcible letter of Mr. Robert Summers in your edition of Jan. 21, and to thank you, at the same time, for that able review of the Peek Prize Essays, one of the remarks in which elicited Mr. Summers' note. I am not addicted to newspaper letter-writing, but I have tried to, and cannot, dismiss the inclination I feel to send you a maiden letter, and express my agreement in his declaration that "the distinction" he suggests "is not generally sufficiently kept in view, but when once fully grasped, it completely puts an end"—better than any possible recital of charters, or statutes, indeed, useful as such references may be—"to all idea of the private origin of tithes." In my own, later, and as against one's ordinary reading, more systematic study of the whole question of tithes, it was impossible not to note at the very threshold of the inquiry, and benefit by that flood of light which was thrown upon the subject, along its entire breadth and length, by the simple (indisputable) definition of tithe (proper) as a tenth of the produce of the land, as Mr. S. says—a definition which the Tithe Commutation Act of '36 has practically done so much to obscure (by the way, what greater



condemnation of the whole history of law-tithe than that very Commutation Act itself!). It is absolutely impossible that a man can give that which, so far as he is concerned, does not, cannot, exist (as in the case of his successor's tithes), and the very existence of which at all is altogether contingent upon another's production of it; and it is just because of this, arising out of the very nature of the case, that the tithe of the produce of my successor's property, tithe not being itself property, is far enough beyond any gift of mine, that, if he, also, does not give it (this is not pretended, being the very ground of complaint), but is made to yield it up, then, clearly enough, there is the action, not of private bestowment, which is impossible, but of public law, or (say) State authority—whether, as some contend, as, originally, the absolute owner of the land, or, at any rate, as the absolute ruler of the landowners, or tillers, does not immediately concern. May I add that on a hundred platforms, I have found this simple presentment of the case, though the case of law rather than of history—law, perhaps, as the interpreter of history—absolutely irresistible, and, when opponent after opponent has risen, with the old wordy plausibilities. This one simple distinction, partly put, and closely kept to, has never failed to dissipate the thick darkness. Restore light—and right—to the popular apprehension. Tithe is a tenth of the produce of land, not a tenth of property in land, and, "once fully grasp" that, and all that that implies, and the whole thing, so far, is clear as daylight. Tithes, which our Church defence friends so loudly tell us had their origin in pious Voluntarism, must, from their very nature, always have it there—that is to say, in successive generations—or they are a tax. By law I mean a State infliction (whether of the common, or the statute law), and such is the law tithe of to-day. It grew up into this, doubtless, just in proportion as it grew out of the offering, and there it is now, as Lord John Harvey said in the House of Commons a hundred and fifty years ago, "the wages which, as the servants of the public, the clergy receive from the bounty of the laws." The clergy, therefore, are State servants, State waged, and the State cashiers, of course, or disendowments, when the State dismisses, or disestablishes. Rather, as the State, in such cases, respects life-interests, there will be no disestablishment, nor disendowment, personally, at all, and, therefore, no possible injustice to any. The State, when it wills, can surely close a State department for its own good, out of its own mind! If a State may not do this, what may a State do? and who are the men, really, who would subvert the State's power or promise?

I am, Sir, yours truly,

JOHN HENRY GORDON.

Darlington, Feb. 2, 1874.

#### SOUTHWARK ELECTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Unsolicited and unexpected, the following letter has reached me from the Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B., of Surrey Chapel, of whose church I am a member, and as he intimates leave to publish I feel in duty bound to do so, although it savours too much of egotism. At the present juncture, however, I hope that this fault will be forgiven.

Faithfully yours,

ANDREW DUNN,

The Local Liberal Candidate for Southwark.

Crown Iron Yard, Southwark-street,

Jan. 31, 1874.

(Copy.)

Surrey Parsonage, London, S.E.

Jan. 31, 1874.

DEAR MR. DUNN,—Though I decline to take any active part in local politics, I wish to express my hearty good wishes for your success. I am increasingly convinced that it is the duty of Christian patriotism to select as representatives men who shall not merely support those political measures which we may approve, but who are also men of upright character and Christian faith—men who will earnestly promote the social, and, as far as it lies within the province of legislation, the moral interests of the people. Men who, while not legislating about religion, will legislate about everything in a religious spirit. For these reasons I heartily wish you success, and remain,

My dear Mr. Dunn,

Very faithfully yours,

NEWMAN HALL.

Andrew Dunn, Esq.

AN AGED BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.—An old gentleman in his eighty-first year was married in Hunslet on Saturday. The bride was seventy-five.

On Friday a farmer residing near Consett was attacked by a couple of drunken miners, who fractured his skull and broke two of his ribs. The injured man is not likely to recover. The assailants are in custody.

Sir William Stephenson, at the request of Mr. Lowe, has stated that there is no foundation for a statement that Mr. Lowe "issued instructions to assessors" of income-tax "throughout the country to take no man's word, to accept no return as truthful, but simply to make it the basis of a higher and purely imaginary assessment." Sir William Stephenson adds that he is not aware that Mr. Lowe at any time interfered in the remotest degree, directly or indirectly, with the assessment or collection of the tax, and that the allegation is equally untrue as regards the action of the Inland Revenue Department.

## THE GENERAL ELECTION.

### THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

The following gentlemen were returned as members of the new Parliament up to Monday night. They are distinguished as Liberals and Conservatives, those who did not sit in the late Parliament being indicated by an asterisk:—

ENGLAND.			
Places.	Members.	L.	C.
Andover	*Mr. Wellesey	—	1
Banbury	Mr. Samuelson	1	—
Barnstaple	Mr. Thomas Cave	1	—
	*Mr. Waddy	1	—
Bedfordshire	Colonel Gilpin	—	1
	Mr. Francis Basset	1	—
Berkshire	Mr. R. Benyon	—	1
	Colonel L. Lindsay	—	1
Bewdley	Mr. Walter	1	—
Birmingham	*Mr. Harrison	1	—
	Right Hon. John Bright	1	—
	Mr. G. Dixon	1	—
	Mr. P. H. Muntz	1	—
Brecon	Mr. Gwynne Holford	1	—
Bridport	Mr. T. A. Mitchell	1	—
Bristol	Morley	1	—
	Hodgson	1	—
Burnley	Mr. Shaw	1	—
Calne	Lord E. Fitzmaurice	1	—
Cambridge Univ.	Right Hon. S. H. Walpole	—	1
	Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope	—	1
Carnarvon	Mr. W. Bulkeley Hughes	1	—
Chatham	*Admiral Elliot	—	1
Chichester	Lord H. Lennox	—	1
Chippenham	Mr. Goldney	—	1
Cirencester	Mr. A. A. Bathurst	—	1
Cornwall	Sir John St. Aubyn	1	—
	Mr. A. Pendarves Vivian	1	—
Derbyshire, North	Sir S. Northcote	—	1
	Sir T. Acland	—	1
Devonshire, North	Sir S. Northcote	—	1
	Sir T. Acland	—	1
Eye	Lord Barrington	—	1
Gloucester	*Mr. Wait	—	1
	Mr. Monk	1	—
Guildford	*Mr. Denzil Onslow	—	1
Hants, North	Mr. G. Sclater-Booth	—	1
	Mr. W. M. B. Beach	—	1
Harwich	Lieutenant-Col. Jervis	—	1
Hertford	*Captain A. J. Balfour	—	1
Huntingdon	Sir J. Karslake	—	1
Kidderminster	Mr. A. Grant	—	1
King's Lynn	Mr. Robert Bourke	—	1
	Lord C. Hamilton	—	1
Launceston	Mr. C. Deakin	—	1
Leominster	Mr. R. Arkwright	—	1
Lincolnshire, Mid.	Mr. Henry Chaplin	—	1
	Hon. Edward Stanhope	1	—
Lincolnshire, Nh.	Mr. R. Winn	—	1
	*Sir J. B. Astley	—	1
Ludlow	Col. Hon. G. H. W. Clive	1	—
Lymington	Col. Kennard	—	1
Macclesfield	Mr. Brocklehurst	1	—
	Mr. Chadwick	1	—
Maidstone	Sir John Lubbock	—	1
	*Sir Sydney Waterlow	—	1
Malmesbury	Mr. W. Powell	—	1
Marlborough	Lord Ernest Bruce	—	1
Merionethshire	Mr. S. Holland	—	1
Middlesborough	Mr. Bolckow	—	1
Monmouthshire	Lord Henry Somerset	—	1
	Colonel Morgan	—	1
Norfolk, North	Sir E. H. R. Lacon	—	1
	Hon. J. Walpole	—	1
Norfolk, West	Sir W. Bagge	—	1
	Mr. G. P. Bentinck	—	1
Northamptonshire, South	Sir Rainald Knightley	—	1
	Major F. Cartwright	—	1
Oxford, County	Right Hon. J. Henley	—	1
	Colonel North	—	1
	Colonel Cartwright	—	1
Oxford Univ.	Right Hon. G. Hardy	—	1
	Rt. Hon. F. R. Mowbray	—	1
Peterborough	Mr. Whalley	—	1
	Mr. Thompson Hankey	—	1
Retford, East	Viscount Galway	—	1
	Mr. Foljambe	—	1
Richmond	Mr. Dundas	—	1
Ripon	*Earl de Grey	—	1
Rochester	Mr. Martin	—	1
	Mr. Goldsmid	—	1
South Shields	Mr. J. C. Stevenson	—	1
Staffordshire, E.	Mr. M. A. Bass	—	1
	Mr. Samuel Allsop	—	1
Staffordshire, W.	Mr. F. Monckton	—	1
	Mr. A. S. Hill, Q.C.	—	1
	LL.D.	—	1
Stockton	Mr. Dodds	—	1
Suffolk, West	Lord A. Hervey	—	1
	Colonel Parker	—	1
Surrey, West	Mr. G. Cubitt	—	1
	Mr. Lee Steere	—	1
Taunton	Sir Henry James, Q.C.	1	—
	Mr. A. C. Barclay	—	1
Tewkesbury	Captain Price	—	1
Tiverton	Mr. Amory	—	1
	Mr. Massey	—	1
Tynemouth	Mr. T. Eustace Smith	—	1
Wakefield	Mr. Green	—	1
Warrington	Mr. Greenall	—	1
Westbury	Mr. Laverton	—	1
Whitehaven	Mr. C. Bentinck	—	1

SCOTLAND.			
Edinburgh Univ.	Dr. Lyon Playfair	1	—
Glasgow Univ.	Mr. E. S. Gordon	—	1
Greenock	Mr. J. J. Grieve	1	—
Paisley	*Major Holms	—	1
St. Andrews B.	Mr. Ellice	1	—
Stirling	Mr. H. C. Bannermann	1	—
IRELAND.			
Carlow	*Mr. Lewis	1	—
Carlow, County	Mr. Bruen	—	1
	Mr. Kavanagh	—	1
Dublin, City	Colonel Taylor	—	1
	Mr. J. Hamilton	—	1
Dublin University	Dr. Ball	—	1
	Mr. D. Plunkett	—	1
Kilkenny, City	Sir J. Gray	1	—
Lisburn	Sir Richard Wallace	—	1

Yesterday 131 more members were returned. We find it impossible to complete the list by these additions, but give all yesterday's polls below. According to the return made, 247 members have now been elected, of whom 108 are Liberals and 139 Conservatives. In 208 places no change was made in the balance of the respective parties; the Liberals have gained 10 seats and lost 26:—

### THE POLLS.

The following are the returns of the pollings, so far as they have been received. The figure placed after the name of the constituency denotes the number of members which it sends to the House of Commons:—

#### SATURDAY.

ANDOVER (1).	
Captain Wellesey (C)	395
Hon. D. Fortescue (L)	265

BARNSTAPLE (2).	
Mr. T. Cave (L)	757
Mr. S. Waddy (L)	655
Mr. Fleming (C)	622
Colonel Holt (C)	580

BEWDLEY (1).	
Mr. Harrison (L)	504
Mr. Leighton (C)	405
Mr. Griffith (L)	1

BURNLEY (1).	
Mr. Shaw (L)	3,066
Mr. Lindsay (C)	2,490

CHATHAM (1).	
Admiral Elliot (C)	2,132
Mr. A. J. Otway (L)	1,473

GUILDFORD (1).	
Mr. Denzil Onslow (C)	673
Mr. Guildford Onslow (L)	430

KING'S LYNN (2).	
Hon. R. Bourke (C)	1,165
Lord Claude J. Hamilton (C)	1,093
Sir W. Ffolkes (L)	999
Mr. E. Wodehouse (L)	895

KIDDERMINSTER (1).	
Mr. Albert Grant (C)	1,509
Mr. T. Lea (L)	1,398

MAIDSTONE (2).	
Sir J. Lubbock (L)	1,558
Sir S. Waterlow (L)	1,491
Mr. Ross (C)	1,414
Colonel Stanley (C)	1,365

ROCHESTER (2).	
Mr. P. W. Martin (L)	1,206
Mr. J. Goldsmid (L)	1,144
Mr. A. Smee (C)	835

TIVERTON (2).	
Mr. Amory (L)	677
Right Hon. W. N. Massey (L)	629
Mr. J. W. Walrond (C)	605

#### MONDAY.

ABERDEEN (1).	
Mr. J. Farley Leith (L)	3,910
Mr. Shaw (C)	2,724

BANBURY (1).	
Mr. Samuelson (L)	760
Colonel Wilkinson (C)	676

BRECON (1).	
Mr. Gwynne Holford (C)	374
Captain Vaughan Morgan (L)	353

BRISTOL (2).	
Mr. Hodgson (L)	8,888
Mr. Morley (L)	8,752
Mr. Hare (C)	8,552
Mr. Chambers (C)	7,621

CHIPPENHAM (1).	
Mr. G. Goldney (C)	531
Mr. H. Coatham (L)	304

GLOUCESTER (2).	
Mr. W. N. Wait (C)	2,132
Mr. C. J. Monk (L)	2,070
Mr. J. J. Powell (L)	1,990
Sir T. Lawrence (C)	1,865

LAUNCESTON (1).	
Colonel Deakin (C)	454
Mr. H. Drinkwater (L)	217

LINCOLN (2).	
Lieut.-Col. E. Chaplin (C)	2,107
Mr. C. Seely (L)	1,907
— J. H. Palmer (L)	1,784

MACCLESFIELD (2).	
Mr. Brocklehurst (L)	3,173
Mr. Chadwick (L)	2,792
Mr. Eaton (C)	2,750
Mr. Croston (C)	2,250

MIDDLESBOROUGH (1).	
Mr. Bolckow (L)	3,719
Mr. Kane (Working Men)	1,544
Mr. Hopkins (C)	996



PETERBOROUGH (2).		
Mr. Hankey (L)	1,135	
Mr. Whalley (L)	1,005	
Mr. Wrenfordale (C)	666	
Mr. Potter (Working Men)	562	
Mr. Neville Goodman (L)	323	
Mr. R. M. Kerr	71	
RICHMOND (1).		
Mr. Dundas (L)	313	
Mr. Cooke (L)	259	
STOCKTON (1).		
Mr. Joseph Dodds (L)	3,233	
Mr. Francis Lyon Barrington (C)	1,425	
TEWKESBURY (1).		
Captain W. E. Price (L)	350	
Sir E. Lechmere (C)	323	
WALLINGFORD (1).		
Mr. E. Wells (C)	575	
Mr. Jones (L)	437	
WAKEFIELD (1).		
Mr. Green (C)	1,783	
Mr. Mackie (L)	1,595	
There were fifty-seven rejected votes. It is alleged that the Conservatives have bribed several hundred voters. The Liberals have accordingly decided to petition against Mr. Green's return and to claim the seat. At midnight the town remained in a very excited state.		
WARRINGTON (1).		
Mr. G. Greenall (C)	2,381	
Mr. P. Rylands (L)	2,201	
WESTBURY (1).		
Mr. Abraham Laverton (L)	540	
Mr. Charles Paul Phipps (C)	518	
YESTERDAY.		
BANDON, 1.—Mr. A. Swanston (L), 180; Lord Bernard (C), 175.		
BATH, 2.—Captain Hayter (L), 2,520; *Major Bousfield (C), 2,397; *Lord J. Hervey (L), 2,391; Lord Grey de Wilton (C), 2,348.		
BEDFORD, 2.—Mr. S. Whitbread (L), 1,155; *Captain Polhill Turner (C), 1,010; Mr. C. Magniac (L), 1,001.		
BIRKENHEAD, 1.—Mr. J. Laird (C), 3,692; *Mr. James Samuelson (L), 1,580.		
BOSTON, 2.—Mr. W. G. Ingram (L), 1,572; *Mr. T. Parry (L), 1,347; Mr. J. W. Malcolm (C), 996; Mr. T. Collins (C), 679.		
BRISTOL, 2.—Mr. K. D. Hodgson (L), 8,888; Mr. S. Morley (L), 8,732; *Mr. S. V. Hare (C), 8,522; *Mr. Chambers (C), 7,626.		
BURY ST. EDMUNDS, 2.—Mr. E. Greene (C), 1,004; *Lord F. Hervey (C), 914; Mr. J. A. Hardcastle (L), 707; Mr. C. Lamport (L), 628.		
CAMBRIDGE, 2.—Mr. A. G. Marten (C), 1,856; *Mr. P. B. Smollett (C), 1,792; Mr. W. Fowler (L), 1,774; Sir R. Torrens (L), 1,738.		
CHESTER, 2.—Mr. H. C. Raikes (C), 2,356; Right Hon. J. G. Dodson (L), 2,134; Sir T. G. Frost (L), 2,125.		
CLITHEROE, 1.—Mr. R. Asheton (C), 596; *Mr. Kay, Q.C. (L), 804.		
COLCHESTER, 2.—Colonel Learmonth (C), 1,515; *Mr. H. B. Praed (C), 1,407; Dr. Brewer (L), 1,279; *Mr. R. K. Causton (L), 1,218.		
DEVIZES, 1.—Sir T. Bateson (C), 396; *Mr. Darby Griffiths (L.C.), 364.		
DORCHESTER, 1.—Mr. W. E. Brymer (C), 353; Mr. F. S. Head (L), 263.		
DROITWICH, 1.—Mr. Corbett (L), 787; Sir J. Pakington (C), 401.		
DURHAM, 2.—Mr. T. C. Thompson (L), 924; Mr. J. Henderson (L), 879; Mr. J. L. Wharton (C), 846.		
EVEHAM, 1.—Colonel Bourne (C), 346; *Mr. Napier Higgins, Q.C. (L), 299.		
EXETER, 2.—Mr. A. Mills (C), 2,523; *Mr. J. G. Johnson (C), 2,330; Mr. E. Bowring (L), 2,264; *Mr. E. Johnson (L), 2,053.		
GATESHEAD, 1.—Mr. W. H. James (L), 4,250; *Mr. R. Forster (C), 1,396.		
GRANTHAM, 2.—Sir H. A. Cholmeley (L), 1,055; *Captain Cust (C), 965; Mr. Mellor (L), 899.		
GREENWICH, 2.—Mr. Boord (C), 6,193; Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone (L), 5,968; *Mr. Liardet (C), 5,561; *Mr. Baxter Langley (L), 5,255.		
HASTINGS, 2.—Mr. T. Brassey (L), 1,721; Mr. U. J. Kay-Shuttleworth (L), 1,495; *Mr. P. F. Robertson (C), 1,244; *Mr. R. Nicholson (C), 945.		
HALIFAX, 2.—Mr. H. Crossley (L), 5,563; Right Hon. J. Stansfeld (L), 5,473; *Mr. M'Crea (C), 3,923.		
HEREFORD, 2.—Mr. E. Pateshall (C), 978; Mr. Clive (L), 921; Major Arbuthnot (C), 903; *Mr. J. Pulley (L), 902.		
KENDAL, 1.—Mr. Whitwell (L), 1,061; *Mr. Saunders (C), 470.		
KINSALE, 1.—Mr. Eugene Collins (L), 107; *Mr. Charles Andrews (C), 47.		
KNARESBOROUGH, 1.—Mr. B. T. Woodd (C), 397; *Sir A. Fairbairn (L), 309.		
LINCOLN, 2.—Lieutenant-Colonel E. Chaplin (C), 2,107; Mr. C. Seely (L), 1,907; Mr. Hinde Palmer (L), 1,784.		
MALDON, 2.—Mr. G. M. Sandford (C), 623; *Sir J. Bennett (L), 519.		
MALTON, 1.—Hon. G. Fitzwilliam (L), 603; *Mr. Bower (C), 473.		
MIDHURST, 1.—Mr. C. G. Perceval (L), 530; Mr. W. T. Mitford (C), 194; *Mr. J. F. Murrugh (L), 99.		

NEWARK, 2.—Mr. Earp (L), 973; Mr. S. B. Bristowe (L), 912; *Captain Field (C), 824; *Col. Eyre (C), 813.		
OXFORD, 2.—Sir W. Harcourt (L), 2,332; Right Hon. E. Cardwell (L), 2,281; *Mr. A. W. Hall (C), 2,198.		
PORTARLINGTON, 1.—Captain Dawson Damer (C), 76; *Mr. Barnett (H.R.), 52.		
PETERBOROUGH, 2.—Mr. Thomson Hankey (L), 1,135; Mr. G. H. Whalley (L), 1,105; *Mr. H. T. Wrenfordale (C), 666; *Mr. George Potter (L), 562; *Mr. N. Goodman (L), 323; Mr. M. Kerr (L), 71.		
PETERSFIELD, 1.—*Captain Jolliffe (C), 375; Mr. W. Nicholson (L), 361.		
PLYMOUTH, 2.—Mr. Bates (C), 2,045; *Mr. Sampson Lloyd (C), 2,000; *Sir G. Young (L), 1,714; Mr. W. Morrison (L), 1,700.		
POOL, 1.—*Mr. C. Waring (L), 705; Mr. A. E. Guest (C), 580.		
PRESTON, 2.—Mr. Hermon (C), 6,362; Mr. Holker, Q.C. (C), 5,211; *Mr. Mottershead (L), 3,606.		
READING, 2.—Mr. G. J. Shaw Lefevre (L), 1,795; Sir F. Goldsmid (L), 1,791; *Mr. R. Attenborough (C), 1,652; *Mr. W. D. Mackenzie (C), 1,631.		
SANDWICH, 2.—Mr. H. A. Brassey (L), 1,035; Right Hon. E. Knatchbull-Hugessen (L), 1,006; *Captain Hallett (C), 764; Mr. Baillie (C), 611.		
SCARBOROUGH, 2.—*Sir C. Legard (C), 1,280; Sir H. Johnstone (L), 1,103; Mr. J. D. Dent (L), 799; *Professor Thorold Rogers (L), 772.		
SHREWSBURY, 2.—*Mr. Cotes (L), 1,663; *Mr. Robertson (L), 1,533; Mr. J. Figgins (C), 1,382; Mr. D. Straight (C), 1,324.		
TAMWORTH, 2.—Sir R. Peel (L), 1,089; Mr. R. Hanbury (L), 1,066; *Mr. Hawkes (L), 448; *Mr. C. Butt, Q.C. (L), 209.		
TAURO, 2.—Sir F. M. Williams (C), 795; Col. Hogg (C), 723; *Mr. H. Grenfell (L), 565; *Mr. J. Graham (L), 455.		
WARWICK, 2.—*Mr. G. W. Repton (C), 836; Mr. A. W. Peel (L), 783; *Mr. Godson (C), 740; *Mr. W. Cremer (L), 183.		
WEYMOUTH, 2.—Mr. Edwards (L), 944; *Sir F. Johnstone (C), 504; Mr. Hambro (C), 452.		
WHITBY, 1.—Mr. W. H. Gladstone (L), 873; *Mr. C. Bagnall (C), 754.		
WIGAN, 2.—*Lord Lindsay (C), 2,493; *Mr. T. Knowles (C), 2,501; Mr. J. Lancaster (L), 1,883; *Mr. Picard (L), 1,135; Mr. H. Woods (L), 1,029.		
WINCHESTER, 2.—Mr. W. B. Simonds (C), 949; *Mr. A. R. Naghten (C), 793; Mr. Bonham Carter (L), 649.		
WINDSOR, 1.—*Mr. Richardson Gardner (C), 1,064; Mr. R. Eykyn (L), 618.		
WOODSTOCK, 1.—*Lord Randolph Churchill (C), 569; *Hon. G. Brodrick (L), 404.		
WORCESTER, 2.—Mr. Sherriff (L), 2,284; *Mr. Hill (L), 2,164; *Mr. F. D. Allcroft (C), 1,958; Mr. W. Lalett (C), 1,672.		
YORK, 2.—Mr. G. Leeman (L), 3,180; Mr. J. Lowther (C), 3,371; Hon. L. P. Dawnay (C), 2,830.		

## NOMINATIONS.

## FRIDAY.

## ENGLAND AND WALES.

BATH—Captain A. D. Hayter, L.; Lord J. Hervey, L.; Lord Grey de Wilton, C.; Major Bousfield, C.		
BIRKENHEAD—Mr. James Samuelson, L.; Mr. John Laird, C.		
BOSTON—Mr. W. J. Ingram, L.; Mr. T. Parry, L.; Mr. J. W. Malcolm, C.; Mr. T. Collins, C.		
BURY ST. EDMUNDS—Mr. J. A. Hardcastle, L.; Mr. C. Lamport, L.; Mr. Edward Greene, C.; Lord Francis Hervey, C.		
CAMBRIDGE—Sir R. Torrens, L.; Mr. W. Fowler, L.; Mr. A. G. Marten, C.; Mr. P. B. Smollett, C.		
CHRISTCHURCH—Mr. Clement Milward, Q.C., L.; Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, C.		
CLITHEROE—Mr. Edward Ebenezer Kay, L.; Mr. Ralph Asheton, C.		
DEVIZES—Sir Thomas Bateson, C.; Mr. Darby Griffiths, C.		
DURHAM—Mr. John Henderson, L.; Mr. T. C. Thompson, L.; Mr. John Wharton, C.		
EXETER—Mr. E. A. Bowring, L.; Mr. E. Johnson, L.; Mr. A. Mills, C.; Mr. J. G. Johnson, C.		
GATESHEAD—Mr. James W. James, L.; Mr. William Arbuthnot, L.; Mr. Richard Foster, C.		
GREENWICH—Mr. Gladstone, L.; Dr. Langley, L.; Mr. Boord, C.; Mr. Liardet, C.		
HALIFAX—Right Hon. J. Stansfeld, L.; Mr. J. Crossley, L.; Mr. H. C. M'Crea, C.		
HEREFORD (CITY)—Mr. George Clive, L.; Mr. Joseph Pulley, L.; Major Arbuthnot, C.; Mr. Evan Pateshall, C.		
KENDAL—Mr. Whitwell, L.; Mr. W. A. Saunders, C.		
MACCLESFIELD—Mr. W. C. Brocklehurst, L.; Mr. David Chadwick, L. (late members); Mr. W. M. Eaton, C.; Mr. J. Croston, C.		
MIDHURST—Mr. J. P. Murrugh, L.; Mr. W. T. Mitford, C.; Mr. C. G. Perceval, C.		
NORTHALLERTON—Mr. W. B. Wrightson, L.; and Mr. G. W. Elliot, C.		
PONTFRAC—Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers, L.; Major Waterhouse, C.; Lord Pollington, C.		
PORTSMOUTH—Mr. W. H. Stone, L.; Mr. W. S. Portal, L.; Sir J. D. F. Elphinstone, C.; Hon. Thomas Bruce, C.		
PRESTON—Mr. Thomas Mottershead, L.; Mr. Edward Hermon, C.; Mr. John Halker, C.		
READING—Sir J. Goldsmid, L.; Mr. G. Shaw		

Lefevre, L.; Mr. W. D. Mackenzie, C.; Mr. R. Attenborough, C.		
RICHMOND (Yorks)—Hon. J. C. Dundas, L.; Mr. C. E. B. Cooke, L.		
SHAFTESBURY—Mr. H. Danby Seymour, L.; Mr. V. F. B. Stanford, C.		
SHREWSBURY—Mr. Robertson, L.; Mr. Cotes, L.; Mr. J. Figgins, C.; Mr. D. Straight, C.		
TAMWORTH—Sir R. Peel, L.; Mr. Charles Parker Butt, Independent; Mr. H. Hawkes, working men's candidate; Mr. Robert W. Hanbury, C.		
WALSALL—Mr. Charles Forster, L.; Major W. M. Bell, C.		
WORCESTER—Mr. A. C. Sherriff, L.; Mr. T. R. Hill, L.; Mr. W. Lalett, C.; Mr. J. D. Allcroft, C.		
YORK—Mr. George Leeman, L.; Mr. James Lowther, C.; Hon. Lewis Pagan Dawnay, C.		

## SATURDAY.

## ENGLAND AND WALES.

CHELSEA—Sir C. Dilke, L.; Sir H. Hoare, L.; Mr. G. M. Kiell, L.; Mr. W. Gordon, C.		
CITY OF LONDON—Right Hon. G. J. Goschen, L.; Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence, L.; Baron L. Rothschild, L.; Mr. P. Twells, C.; Mr. J. G. Hubbard, C.; Mr. Alderman Cotton, C.		
FINSBURY—The Lord Mayor, L.; Mr. Torrens, L.; Mr. Lucraft, L.; Colonel Randolph, C.		
LAMBETH—Sir J. C. Lawrence, L.; Mr. W. M'Arthur, L.; Mr. Morgan Howard, C.		
SOUTHWARK—Mr. J. Locke, L.; Mr. Andrew Dunn, L.; Mr. Odger, L.; Colonel Beresford, C.		
TOWER HAMLETS—Right Hon. A. S. Ayrton, L.; Mr. J. D. Samuda, L.; Mr. E. H. Currie, L.; Captain Maxse, L.; Mr. R. Ritchie, C.		
WESTMINSTER—Sir T. F. Buxton, L.; General Sir W. J. Codrington, L.; Sir C. Russell, C.; Mr. W. H. Smith, C.		
ABINGDON—Mr. John Cremer Clark, L.; Col. Charles Hugh Lindsay, C.		
ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE—Mr. Able Buckley, L.; Mr. Thomas W. Mellor, C.		
BEDFORD—Mr. C. Magniac, L.; Mr. S. Whitbread, L.; Captain Polhill Turner, C.		
BODMIN—Hon. Edward F. Leveson-Gower, L.; Captain Charles F. Sargeant, L.; Mr. Charles D. Webb, C.		
BOLTON—Mr. James Knowles, L.; Mr. J. K. Cross, L.; Colonel Gray, C.; Mr. John Hick, C.		
BRIDGNORTH—Mr. Henry Foster, L.; Mr. George Barbour, C.		
BRIGHTON—Mr. J. White, L.; Mr. H. Fawcett, L.; Mr. J. L. Ashbury, C.; Major-General Shute, C.		
BUCKINGHAM—Sir Harry Verney, L.; Mr. E. Hubbard, C.		
BURY, LANCASHIRE—Mr. R. N. Phillips, L.; Mr. O. O. Walker, C.		
CANTERBURY—Captain Brinckman, L.; Mr. R. J. Biron, L.; Mr. H. A. Butler-Johnstone, C.; Mr. L. A. Majendie, C.		
CARLISLE—Sir W. Lawson, L.; Mr. R. Ferguson, L.; Mr. W. Banks, C.; Mr. W. Farrer Ecroyd, C.		
CHELTENHAM—Mr. H. B. Samuelson, L.; Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, C.		
CHESTER—Sir Thomas Gibbons Frost, L.; Right Hon. John G. Dodson, L.; Mr. Henry Cecil Raikes, C.		
COCKERMOUTH—Mr. Isaac Fletcher, L.; Mr. John Henry Fawcett, C.		
COLCHESTER—Dr. Brewer, L.; Mr. R. K. Causton, L.; Col. Learmonth, C.; Mr. H. B. Praed, C.		
COVENTRY—Mr. Henry Martin Jackson, L.; Mr. Samuel Carter, L.; Mr. Henry William Eaton, C.; Mr. Frederick Dupre Thornton, C.		
CRICKLADE—Hon. Frederick Cadogan, L.; Mr. Henry Tucker, L.; Mr. Morris, L.; Mr. John Arkell, Ind.; Sir D. Gooch, C.; Mr. Ambrose Lethbridge Goddard, C.		
DARLINGTON—E. Backhouse, L.; Mr. Henry King Spark, L.; Mr. Thomas Gibbons Bowles, C.		
DEVONPORT—Mr. John Delaware Lewis, L.; Mr. George S. Symons, L.; Commander G. E. Price, C.; Mr. J. H. Puleston, C.		
DEWSBURY—Mr. John Charles Cox, L.; Mr. John Simon, L.; Mr. Wm. Henry Colbeck, C.		
DORCHESTER—Mr. F. S. Head, L.; Mr. W. E. Brymer, C.		
DOVER—Mr. F. Inderwick, L.; Mr. Weguelin, jun., L.; Major A. Dickson, C.; Mr. A. K. Freshfield, C.		
DROITWICH—Mr. John Corbett, L.; Right Hon. Sir John Pakington, C.		
DUDLEY—Mr. Henry B. Sheridan, L.; Mr. F. Smith Shenstone, C.		
DURHAM CITY—Mr. T. C. Thompson, L.; Mr. Henderson, L.; Mr. Wharton, C.		
EVEHAM—Mr. Joseph N. Higgins, Q.C., L.; Colonel James Bourne, C.		
FLINT BOROUGH—Sir R. Cunliffe, L.; Mr. P. Eyton, L.; Capt. Conwy, C.		
GRANTHAM—Sir H. Cholmeley, L.; Mr. J. Mellor, L.; Capt. Cust, C.		
GRAVESEND—Sir Charles Wingfield, L.; Captain Bedford Pim, C.		
HARTLEPOOL—Mr. Richardson, L.; Mr. R. W. Jackson, C.		
HORSHAM—Mr. Robert H. Hurst, L.; Sir W. R. S. Fitzgerald, C.		
HELSTON—Mr. A. W. Young, L.; Mr. N. Lees, C.		
HUDDERSFIELD—Mr. E. A. Leatham, L.; Mr. T. Brooke, C.		
GRIMSBY—Mr. Edward Heneage, L.; Mr. John Chapman, C.		
HULL—Mr. C. M. Norwood, L.; Mr. C. H. Wilson, L.; Colonel Pease, C.		



LEEDS—Mr. Edward Baines, L.; Alderman Carter, L.; Mr. T. R. Lees, L.; Mr. W. Wheelhouse, C.; Mr. R. Tennant, C.

LEICESTER—Mr. P. A. Taylor, L.; Mr. A. McArthur, L.; Mr. J. H. B. Warner, C.

LEWIS—Mr. A. Cohen, Q.C., L.; Mr. W. L. Christie, C.

LISKEARD—Right Hon. E. Horsman, L.; Mr. Leonard H. Courtney, L.

LICHFIELD—Mr. Charles Simpson, L.; Colonel Dyott, C.

LIVERPOOL—Mr. Rathbone, L.; Mr. Caine, L.; Lord Sandon, C.; Mr. Torr, C.; Mr. Simpson, Independent Conservative and Working Man's candidate.

LYMINGTON—Major C. West, L.; Colonel Kennard, C.

MAIDON—Sir J. Bennett, L.; Mr. G. M. W. Sandford, C.

MANCHESTER—Sir Thomas Bazley, Bart., L.; Mr. Jacob Bright, L.; Mr. Isaac Butt, Home Rule; Mr. Hugh Birley, C.; Mr. W. R. Callender, C.

MERTHYR TYDVIL—Mr. Richard Fothergill, L.; Mr. Thomas Halliday, L (working men's candidate); Mr. Henry Richard, L.

MORPETH—Mr. T. Burt, L.; Mr. F. Duncan, C.

NEWARE—Mr. S. B. Bristow, L.; Mr. T. Earp, L.; Mr. H. Eyre, C.; Mr. E. Field, C.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—Right Hon. T. E. Headlam, L.; Mr. Joseph Cowen, L.; Mr. Charles F. Harbord, C.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME—Mr. W. S. Allen, L.; Sir E. Buckley, C.; Mr. H. T. Davenport, C.

NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT—Mr. Charles Cavendish Clifford, L.; Lieut.-Col. Twyford, C.

NORTHAMPTON—Mr. C. Gilpin, L.; Lord Henley, L.; Mr. C. Bradlaugh, L.; Mr. C. G. Merewether, C.; Mr. P. Phipps, C.

NORWICH—Mr. Tillett, L.; Mr. J. J. Colman, L.; Mr. Huddleston, C.; Sir H. Stracey, C.

NOTTINGHAM—Mr. R. Birkin, L.; Mr. R. Laycock, L.; Mr. H. Labouchere, L.; Mr. D. W. Heath, L.; Mr. W. E. Denison, C.; Mr. S. Isaac, C.

OLDEHAM—Mr. J. T. Hibbert, L.; the Hon. E. L. Stanley, L.; Mr. J. M. Cobbett, C.; Serjeant Spinks, C.

OXFORD CITY—Right Hon. E. Cardwell, L.; Sir W. Harcourt, L.; Mr. A. W. Hall, C.

PLYMOUTH—Mr. Walter Morrison, L.; Sir G. Young, L.; Mr. Edward Bates, C.; Mr. Sampson Lloyd, C.

POOLE—Mr. Charles Waring, L.; Mr. A. E. Guest, C.

ROCHDALE—Mr. Thomas B. Potter, L.; Mr. Richard R. Gamble, Q.C., C.

ST. IVES—Mr. J. B. Bolitho, L.; Mr. E. G. Davenport, C.

SALFORD—Mr. J. Kay, Q.C., L.; Mr. H. Lee, L.; Mr. C. Cawley, C.; Mr. Charley, C.

SHEFFIELD—Mr. J. A. Roebuck, L.; Mr. A. J. Mundella, L.; Mr. A. Allott, L.; Mr. J. H. Chamberlain, L.

SHOREHAM—Major Lyon, L.; Sir Percy Burrell, C.; the Hon. Stephen Cave, C.

SOUTHAMPTON—Mr. George Moffatt, L.; Sir Frederick Perkins, L.; Mr. Russell Gurney, C.; Captain Englede, C.

STALEYBRIDGE—Mr. N. Buckley, L.; Mr. H. Sidebottom, C.

STOKE-UPON-TRENT—Mr. G. Melly, L.; Mr. A. Walrond, L.; Mr. W. S. Heath, C.

STROUD—Mr. S. S. Dickinson, L.; Mr. Walter J. Stanton, L.; Mr. J. E. Dorington, C.; Mr. George Holloway, C.

SUNDERLAND—Sir Henry Havelock, L.; Mr. Edward Temperley Gourley, L.; Mr. Lawrence Richardson Bailey, C.

SWANSEA—Mr. L. L. Dillwyn, L.; Mr. Charles Bath, C.

TAYSTOCK—Lord Arthur Russell, L.; Mr. R. H. W. Biggs, L.

THIRSK—Major H. M. Stapleton, L.; Sir W. P. Gallwey, Bart., C.

TRURO—Mr. J. Graham, L.; Mr. H. B. Grenfell, L.; Sir F. M. Williams, Bart., C.; Colonel Hogg, C.

WAREHAM—Mr. Montague Guest, L.; Mr. Stephen H. Emmens, L. C.; Mr. John S. W. S. Eric Drax, C.

WARWICK—Mr. Arthur Wellesley Peel, L.; Mr. William Rendall Cremer, L.; Mr. Augustus Frederick Godson, C.; Mr. George William John Repton, C.

WEDNESBURY—Mr. Alexander Brogden, L.; Mr. Richard Mills, C.

WESTBURY—Mr. Liveton, L.; Mr. C. P. Phipps, C.

WEYMOUTH—Mr. H. Edwards, L.; Mr. C. J. Hambro, C.; Sir F. J. W. Johnstone, Bart., C.

WHITBY—Mr. William Henry Gladstone, L.; Mr. Charles Bagnal, C.

WIGAN—Mr. Henry Woods, L.; Mr. John Lancaster, L.; Lord Lindsay, C.; Mr. Thomas Knowles, C.; Mr. William Pickard, labour candidate.

WINCHESTER—Mr. J. Bonham Carter, L.; Mr. William B. Simonds, C.; Mr. A. R. Naghten, C.

WOLVERHAMPTON—Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, L.; Mr. T. M. Weguelin, L.; Mr. Walter Williams, C.; Mr. C. H. Stafford, C.

WYCOMBE—Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington, L.; Mr. Henry Broadhurst, L.; Mr. Frederick Charaley, L. C.

## SCOTLAND.

ABERDEEN—Mr. J. F. Leith, L.; Mr. J. Shaw, C.

DUNDEE—Mr. J. M. D. Meiklejohn, L.; Sir John Ogilvy, Bart.; Mr. James Yeaman, L.; Mr. Edward Jenkins, L.; Mr. John A. L. Gloag, C.

EDINBURGH—Mr. McLaren, L.; Mr. Miller, L.; Lord Provost Cowan, L.; Mr. McDonald, C.

GLASGOW—Dr. Charles Cameron, L.; Mr. Alexander Crum, L.; Mr. Francis E. Ker, L.; Mr. George Anderson, L.; Mr. A. Whitelaw, C.; Mr. James Hunter, C.

PERTH—Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, L.; Mr. Charles Scott, C.

## IRELAND.

BANDON—Mr. Alexander Swanson, L.; Lord Bernard, C.

CITY OF LONDONDERRY—Mr. B. M'Corkell, Independent; Mr. Charles A. Lewis, C.

KINSALE—Mr. Eugene Collins, Home Rule; Mr. Charles Andrews, C.

NEWRY—Mr. William Whitworth, L.; Lord Newry, C.

## MONDAY.

## ENGLAND AND WALES.

BEAUMARIS BOROUGH—Mr. Morgan Lloyd, L.; Captain Verney, L.; Captain Hampton Lewis, C.

CARMARTHEN AND LLANELLY—Sir J. Cowell Stepney, L.; Mr. Charles W. Neville, C.

DENBIGH DISTRICT—Mr. Watkin Williams, L.; Hon. George Thomas Kenyon, C.

WEST GLOUCESTERSHIRE—Colonel Kingscote, L.; Hon. Charles Berkeley, L.; Hon. R. E. Plunket, C.

SOUTH-WEST YORKSHIRE—Mr. H. F. Beaumont, L.; Mr. W. H. Leatham, L.; Mr. W. S. Stanhope, C.; Mr. R. L. Starkey, C.

NORTH DURHAM—Mr. Lothian Bell, L.; Mr. Charles M. Palmer, L.; Mr. George Elliot, C.; Mr. Richard L. Pemberton, C.

EAST SURREY—Mr. Locke King, L.; Mr. J. P. Gassiot, L.; Mr. J. Watney, C.; Mr. W. Grantham, C.

STOKE-ON-TRENT—Mr. Melly, L.; Mr. Roden, L.; Mr. Walton, L.; Mr. Heath, C.

## SCOTLAND.

DUMFRIES BURGH—Mr. Ernest Noel, L.; Captain Carthew Yorston, C.

KILMARNOCK—Right Hon. E. P. Bouverie, L.; Mr. J. F. Harrison, L.

LEITH—Mr. D. R. Macgregor, L.; Mr. R. A. Macfie, L.

RENFREWSHIRE—Colonel Mure, L.; Colonel Campbell, C.

## IRELAND.

ATHLONE—Mr. Ennis, L.; Mr. Sheil, L.

BELFAST—Mr. Thomas McClure, L.; Mr. J. P. Corry, C.; Mr. W. Johnston, C.; Mr. J. Rea, Independent.

CARRICKFERGUS—Mr. M. R. Dalway, L.; Mr. George A. C. May, Q.C., C.

CLONMEL—Mr. John Bagwell, L.; Mr. Arthur Moore, Home Rule.

CORK—Mr. Ronayne, Home Rule; Mr. Murphy, Home Ruler; Mr. Mitchel, Fenian; Mr. Pim, C.; Mr. Goulding, C.

DROGHEDA—Mr. Benjamin Whitworth, L.; Dr. William H. O'Leary, Home Rule.

DUBLIN CITY—Lord Mayor Brooks, Home Rule; Mr. Fox, Home Rule; Mr. Pim, L.; Sir Arthur Guinness, C.

DUNGANNON—Mr. T. A. Dickson, L.; Colonel Knox, C.

ENNISKILLEN—Captain L. J. Collum, L.; Viscount Oricton, C.

GALWAY—Lord St. Lawrence, L.; Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, L.; Mr. George Morris, L.

MALLOW—Mr. McCarthy, Home Rule; Mr. Nagle, Home Rule; Mr. Johnson, L.; Mr. O'Keogh, C.

TRALEE—The O'Donoghue, L.; Mr. Alderman Daly, Home Rule.

WATERFORD BOROUGH—Mr. James Delahunty, L.; Mr. Ralph Bernal Osborne, L.; Major O'Gorman, Home Rule; Mr. Richard Power, Home Rule; Mr. Edward Gibson, C.

WEXFORD BOROUGH—Mr. William Archer Redmond, Home Rule; Sir Frederic Hughes, L. C.

YOUGHAL—Sir Joseph Neale McKenna, L.; Mr. Robert U. Penrose Fitzgerald, C.

## FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS.

This day (Wednesday) is the polling day in the following places:—Abingdon, Berwick, Bodmin, Bolton, Bradford, Canterbury, Carlisle, Christchurch, Crikklade, Darlington, Hackney, Hull, Leicester, Lewes, Marylebone, Northampton, Nottingham, Falmouth, Salisbury, Sheffield, Southampton, Tavistock, Perth.

The elections in the following places take place to-morrow:—Carnarvon boroughs, Chelsea, Colchester, Coventry, Derby, Devonport, Dover, Finsbury, Helston, Lambeth, North Lancashire, Leeds, Liverpool, City of London, Manchester, Oldham, Salford, Southwark, Stoke, West Suffolk, Tower Hamlets, Westminster, Wolverhampton, Dundee, Glasgow, St. Andrew, Dundalk, Wexford.

Friday's polls will take place as follows:—Anglesea (B), Anglesea (C), Beaumaris, Denbigh boroughs, Ayr Burghs, Kincardineshire, Dublin (C), Ennis, Kilkenny, County Limerick.

Saturday's polls:—South Essex, West Gloucester, Gravesend, West Kent, North-East Lancashire, North Leicestershire, Mid Lincoln, Montrose.

Monday's:—West Cornwall, East Devon, East Gloucester, West Somerset.

Tuesday's:—East Cumberland, South Devon, South-East Lancashire, South Notts, Radnorshire, North Stafford, South-West Yorkshire, North Yorkshire, Forfarshire.

Wednesday's:—Carnarvonshire, East Kent, Middlesex, Pembroke, East Sussex, North-West Riding Yorkshire, South Ayrshire, Forfarshire.

## THE SPEECHES OF MR. GLADSTONE, MR. DISRAELI, AND MR. BRIGHT.

Mr. Gladstone addressed a large meeting of electors at Woolwich on Saturday. He began by alluding to the question that had been raised as to the legality of his holding his seat after he had accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and said he had consulted the highest authorities on the subject, and received a unanimous opinion that the course he had pursued was perfectly legal. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to reply to some of the statements contained in the addresses of the Conservative candidates for that borough with reference to "cheeseparing economy" in the dockyards, the relief of the ratepayers, and other matters, quoting facts and figures to show that the charges made against his administration were quite unwarranted. Alluding to the blame which had been heaped upon the Government for entering into the Ashantee War without the consent of Parliament, he said hostilities had begun while Parliament was sitting, and Sir C. Adderley gave notice of a question upon the subject. Sir Garnet Wolseley declared that it was necessary to employ European troops, and on that question they would have consulted Parliament had there been time without losing the healthy season. The conduct of the Government in this matter would be submitted to the judgment of Parliament, and he ventured to hope that it would be approved. A paragraph in his address, in which he referred to the Education Act, appeared to have given rise to difference of opinion as to what he meant to convey, and he proceeded to explain it. He preferred the earlier form of the Act to the later, and had submitted with reluctance to the changes introduced into it, but he was of opinion that it would be impossible at present to take into consideration its general principle and basis. Some time must elapse before any judgment could be formed. With regard to the 25th clause, he did not think a parent should be compelled to send his child to a school to which he conscientiously objected; but, subject to that reservation, he thought the clause ought to be reconsidered. Anticipating further enlightenment from Mr. Disraeli, at Aylesbury, respecting the Straits of Malacca, he said the principle of the foreign policy of the Government was described in the words of Shakespeare:—

## Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in, Bear't that the opposer may beware of thee.

Turning to finance, he controverted the assumption that the Conservative Government had, during their two years and a-half in office, reduced the National Debt by thirty-two millions, the fact that that amount had only been converted into terminable annuities. The real reduction effected by the Conservatives was only two millions, while his own Government had wiped off twenty-five millions in five years. The Conservative party, he said in conclusion, boasted of being united, but it was upon a basis of nullity. For their own part, they raised again the flag of "peace, retrenchment, and reform." A vote of confidence in the right hon. gentleman was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Gladstone addressed a large open-air meeting at Deptford on Monday, and was very cordially received.

Mr. Disraeli met his Aylesbury friends on Saturday, and made a long speech. After alluding to the variety of reasons given by the Government for resigning, one of which was that they were only supported by a majority of sixty-six, he said that if the dissolution was intended when Parliament was prorogued to February 5, it was an act of black treachery, a strategy of surprise worthy of the Ashantees. The Ministers had endeavoured to bribe the constituencies after, not before, the coup d'état, and they had tried to throw gold dust into the eyes of the people. Criticising Mr. Gladstone's remarks as to the balance between direct and indirect taxation, he contended that the fair amount of indirect taxation had already been taken off, and denounced Mr. Gladstone's arguments as inconsistent, illogical, and unjust. He quoted Baron Rothschild's estimate that Mr. Gladstone's scheme, as far as understood, would leave a deficiency of over four millions. He utterly denied that the issue before the country was a financial issue. The issue was the conduct of the Government. Their policy had been to make everyone uncomfortable. Mr. Gladstone seemed to treat the interest of England abroad as a small matter. But when foreign affairs were mismanaged, the result was costly wars, ignominious treaties, and sham arbitration, got up as a cloak to cover blunders. Coming to the income-tax, he dilated on its importance as a means of raising large sums on an emergency. When one of the great Powers of Europe goes to war, it must begin by borrowing many millions, and continue to borrow; here in England we can touch a spring, and by a single tax our annual income can be raised by twenty millions at once. "But, though I think it is a war tax, and should not exist except when we are in a position of war, we find the tax now in operation; and I certainly do not consider I am relieving the country of a burden by abolishing it and substituting for it taxes much heavier and more vexatious. Let the income-tax die naturally. You have a surplus. You need not devote the whole of that surplus to the remission of the income-tax. A part of it you may apply to other parts of public money." On the question of the agricultural labourer, he said they were not to rush into projects for supplying social wants by conferring political privileges. "It is



such a very large question that, when it has some day to be dealt with, it must be dealt with, not by demagogues, but by statesmen. It affects altogether our representative system, and I decline, for the sake of getting any clap-trap support, to pledge myself to support crude propositions which are brought forward by persons who are not ultimately responsible for the good order and government of the country, and who shrink from investigating and mastering the whole subject."

Mr. Diasadi will address the electors of Bucks at Newport Pagnell this afternoon.

Mr. Bright met his constituents in the Town Hall, Birmingham, on Saturday, and returned thanks for the honour they had done him in returning him as their representative. With regard to the cause of the dissolution, he would tell them frankly and honestly that those causes were set forth most clearly in the address of the Prime Minister; when they had read that they knew as much as it was necessary for them to know, as much as could be known, and as much as he himself knew. He proceeded to a comparison of the Liberal and Conservative parties. The Tories (he said) are an unhappy party; whether in or out of office they seem to me alike unfortunate. I have watched their agonies for thirty years. During that time according to them the Constitution has received some scores of serious wounds, and several of these wounds, though it is curious to say so, had been pronounced fatal. They say that we—that is, the Liberal party—have disturbed classes and interests unnecessarily, that we have harassed almost all sorts of people, and have made ourselves very unpopular thereby. Why, if they had been in the wilderness, no doubt they would have condemned the Ten Commandments as a harassing piece of legislation. He pleaded guilty to the charge that they had disturbed a good many classes and a good many interests, and in doing so he offered as the justification the fact that in no single case had they injured a class or interest, and in every case they had greatly benefited the country. Passing in review various other topics, he came to the Irish legislation of the Government. Answering a remark made to him by a clergyman that disestablishment in Ireland was a judgment upon them for their shortcomings, Mr. Bright said if ever there was a measure which passed a House of Legislature undoubtedly conformable to the precepts of the revelation which the Divine Master had left us, it was the removal of the political institution which went by the name of the Established Church of Ireland. What had followed? We had seen that the Church was endeavouring gradually, and he trusted successfully, to purify itself better for the work before it. As to the effects of the Irish Land Act, he said no landlord was injured. The value of land had not fallen, all property in Ireland was more secure, and agrarian crime and outrage, as compared with a few years ago, had almost all ceased. He argued that the Licensing Act should not be regarded as a party measure. The opposition of licensed victuallers showed there was among that class a residuum—men low in circumstances and character, to whom any legislation which tendered to sobriety and good order must necessarily be somewhat hateful. There was also a much larger class to whom reasonable legislation in this direction was not only not hateful, but even welcome. In conclusion, the right hon. gentleman said that in this country progress, the freedom of discussion and freedom of the press, was inevitable; and progress was disturbance. Was not England, however, a country immeasurably better to live in now than it was thirty years ago? For five years he had been only a looker-on, and there had been errors which he disapproved and condemned; but if the Government had committed errors, looking upon it with the eye of impartiality, its virtues were greater than its errors. They now came to the question of what their policy should be in the future. His hearers had settled the matter for themselves by re-electing their former members. Changes would have to be made as the public voice demanded them, but not for the sake of change. Mr. Bright said nothing whatever upon the Education Act. The right hon. gentleman was most enthusiastically received, as were also his colleagues, Mr. Dixon and Dr. Muntz. The former intimated that he intended to persevere with his education scheme, and would bring in a bill to carry it into effect during the ensuing session.

#### BRADFORD.

On Tuesday night (Jan. 27) a large and enthusiastic meeting of representative Liberals from all parts of the borough, which had been convened by circular, was held in the Alhambra Music Hall for the purpose of considering what action should be taken by Bradford in connection with the election (which takes place this day). Mr. E. West presided, and was supported by the leading Liberals of the town. The letter of resignation from Mr. Miall having been read, Mr. Titus Salt said that of all men that he had ever worked for, Edward Miall had created more enthusiasm in his breast than any other, perhaps more than any man ever would do. (Cheers.) He had hoped a few weeks ago that Mr. Miall's health would have been sufficiently restored so that his connection with this borough would not have to be severed in the way in which it unfortunately had to be in consequence of his ill-health. (Hear, hear.) Although Mr. Miall was thus rendered incapable of taking an active part as their representative, yet he hoped and trusted that his health would soon be so far restored

that he would be able in the future to influence the country by his pen as powerfully as he had done in the past. (Cheers.) He knew no man who had in this way more powerfully influenced the country than Edward Miall. (Hear, hear.) It was a proud day for that constituency when they returned him at the head of the poll by such an immense majority in his absence. (Hear, hear.) He moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting has heard with deep and sincere regret of the determination of Mr. Miall not to allow himself to be again proposed as a Liberal candidate for this borough, and wishes to place on record its sense and gratitude for the fidelity and zeal with which he has served Bradford during the late Parliament, and also its affection for him for his devotion to the best and truest interest of this great empire. This meeting would also further express the hope that the physical weakness that has temporarily laid him aside may be speedily removed, and that his great ability may still be available for the furtherance of the cause of civil liberty and religious equality.

Had his father been in sufficiently good health to be present, he would have moved that resolution with very great pleasure, and on his behalf, as chairman of Mr. Miall's late election committee, he had great pleasure in moving it. (Cheers.) Mr. William Whitehead, in a speech highly eulogistic of Mr. Miall, seconded the resolution, and said they were all satisfied he went away from Bradford with the best wishes and heartiest thanks of the whole of the thoroughly Liberal party. (Cheers.) The resolution having been unanimously carried, the question of the choice of two candidates then came on. The name of Mr. J. V. Godwin was then proposed and seconded, and Mr. Alfred Illingworth supported it in a powerful speech, in which he expressed great regret at Mr. Miall's retirement. Day by day and night by night he had been with him in the House of Commons, and never from the first day he knew him had there been on his side one second in which he had not cherished a constant and loyal affection. (Hear, hear.) There was nothing that more showed the importance of the Church question at the present time than that it was everywhere forcing itself upon the minds of politicians—whether they were willing or unwilling to consider it. Every bishop laid it to his account every day he lived that before long the wave of disestablishment might reach his own dear Establishment. (Hear, hear.) And on every platform the great point urged by the Conservatives was that they were in favour of the Constitution as established in Church and State. Mr. Godwin, he said, would be an excellent successor to Mr. Miall for several reasons. He was a good Liberal, a Dissenter, and a local man. They owed a duty not merely to Bradford but to the whole country, that, in the only form in which they could articulately express it, they had come to the determination to show that if Mr. Forster coalesced with the Tories, the Liberals of Bradford would withdraw from any connection with him. (Cheers.) Mr. T. Firth and other gentlemen having supported the motion, a letter was read from Mr. Godwin expressing his view that he could not for many reasons accept the position of a candidate. The motion was, however, carried unanimously. Mr. Hardaker, the working man's candidate, was then proposed as Mr. Godwin's colleague, and supported by Mr. R. Kell in a vigorous speech, in which he called upon all sections of the party to vote for both. It was of the highest importance that there should be no mistake as to the verdict of Bradford, as this contest was the most important in the whole country. Mr. Forster had disunited and disintegrated the Liberal party. The whole difficulty in which that party was at the present moment arose entirely from Mr. Forster's conduct on the education question. (Hear, hear.) The motion was carried unanimously, and then Mr. Godwin and Mr. Hardaker were introduced and received with great enthusiasm. Both gentlemen—Mr. Godwin reluctantly—accepted the nomination, and addressed the meeting, and they were followed by Mr. E. Sichel, who proposed Sir Titus Salt as chairman of the joint committee, which was seconded by Mr. August Holden, who said he now saw his way clear through the contest. Let them only be united, and they would win. (Loud cheers.) Let them be determined and resolute, and loyal to each other. Let them have a fair understanding, and act uprightly to one another, and they would carry their two men.

The four candidates, Mr. Forster (supported by some members of the Liberal party, and standing by himself), Mr. Godwin, Mr. Hardaker, and Mr. Ripley (who is aided by his old friends, Messrs. Storey and Garnett) are now in the field, and were duly nominated on Saturday. Mr. Alderman Lane, as the chairman of Mr. Forster's committee, and Mr. M. W. Thompson (once M.P. for Bradford, and defeated at the last election by Mr. Miall) is one of his conspicuous supporters, and has withdrawn his name from Lord Cavendish's committee, and entered it on that of Messrs. Powell and Fison, the Conservative candidates for the Northern Division of the Riding. The licensed victuallers of Bradford have decided to give their support to the candidature of Messrs. Forster and Ripley, believing it "to be the true interests of the trade" to adopt that course. They also resolved to help forward the Tory candidates for the northern division. On the other hand, the Good Templars have declared for Messrs. Godwin and Hardaker. The Home-Rulers have also decided to support the last-named gentlemen. The following letter has been published in the *Times* and other daily papers:—

Sir,—As chairman of the Forster and Miall election committee of 1868, and also of that of the Liberal can-

didates at the present election, I trust you will allow me to remove some misapprehension which seems to exist on the part of a portion of the London press as to the relation of Mr. Forster to the Liberal party here in the present contest. The two Liberal candidates, unanimously adopted at a large representative meeting of that party, held last Tuesday night, are Messrs. J. V. Godwin and James Hardaker. On the other hand, Mr. Forster is receiving the most ostentatious support of the Conservatives, who at their meeting determined not to bring out a candidate, feeling, to use the words of their resolution, "that their support ought to be generally given to secure the return of Messrs. Forster and Ripley." They further state as their reason for this that "it must not be for a moment supposed that in supporting Mr. Forster Conservatives in any degree commit themselves to the support of the Government and as his educational policy is one which has the cordial approval of the Conservatives, it has been resolved to adopt such a course as will not at least imperil Mr. Forster's seat (*Bradford Chronicle*). If he is returned, it must be as the representative of the Tory party.—I am, &c.,

TITUS SALT,  
Chairman of Forster and Miall's Committee, 1868.  
Bradford, Jan. 30.

The candidates have been holding meetings every evening in various parts of the borough. At one of them Mr. Forster said he was not favourable to disestablishment. On the education question, in replying to a question, he remarked that not a single school board of any importance, except Birmingham, had been elected with a majority in favour of excluding religious teaching from the schools. They could not say that he had turned round on them with regard to that question, as there had been no mistake about it from the beginning. He was willing to look favourably on any practical mode of getting over the difficulty of the 25th clause, provided that the principle be maintained that, when a parent was compelled to send his child to school and that parent was too poor to pay for its education, he should not be compelled to send it to any other school than the one which he would choose. Mr. Forster said that he was on the committee for promoting the election of Mr. Isaac Holden, though he did not share his views on the question of disestablishment and the 25th clause. Messrs. Godwin and Hardaker addressed a crowded meeting, and Mr. Illingworth, in a very able speech, attacked the whole educational policy of Mr. Forster. At a meeting in the Congregational School, Great Horton, which was addressed by Mr. Forster, an amendment condemning the right hon. gentleman's candidature was carried by a considerable majority.

A meeting of Roman Catholics was held on Saturday night in St. Mary's Schoolroom, Bradford, to decide the course which should be taken by that body during the present election, and it was endeavoured to urge upon them the importance of guiding their action by the education question. A great disturbance took place, and the majority of the persons present were evidently in favour of the Liberal candidates whose views on the Home Rule question are the most advanced. The meeting dispersed without any resolution being proposed, cheers being given for Home Rule.

A correspondent writes:—Mr. A. Illingworth's speech on Saturday afternoon, justifying the conduct of the Liberal party in opposing Mr. Forster, has made a very considerable impression, and it is said that the canvass made by the friends of Messrs. Godwin and Hardaker, the Liberal candidates, shows a good prospect of success. Mr. Forster addressed a large meeting of the electors in St. George's Hall on Monday night, in reply to Mr. Illingworth, and in the course of his speech he said:—

Although Mr. Illingworth said on Saturday that a graceful concession with regard to the 25th Clause would have appeased him for a time, he (Mr. Forster) knew well enough that the difference between them in education was deeper than that. It was this, that Mr. Illingworth and his friends conscientiously believed that it would be much better for the country if there were an absolute separation of religious teaching from secular teaching. He would not argue the matter. It was a matter which came clearly before them. He had often said that he did not agree with him, and that he thought he should be committing one of the greatest crimes that a politician could commit if, not agreeing with him upon such a solemn question, he should consent to a law which would banish religious teaching from the day-school.

The result of the Bradford poll is not likely to be announced till Thursday morning.

#### MERTHYR.

The three candidates for Merthyr Tydvil are Mr. Henry Richard (who was returned at the last election at the head of the poll by a large majority), Mr. Fothergill, the large iron-founder, who is opposed by Mr. Halliday, the secretary of the Miners' Association. Though the latter does not oppose Mr. Richard, his seat has to be fought for. The hon. gentleman has been holding immense meetings during the past week at Merthyr, Mountain Ash, Aberdare, and Dowlais, where the old enthusiasm has been awakened, and resolutions cordially adopted in his favour. Speaking of one of them, the *South Wales Daily News* says that "therapeutic applause and the hearty and unanimous vote of confidence bestowed upon Mr. Richard proves that Merthyr is proud of its member, and will return him at the head of the poll. The speech of the chairman, in introducing Mr. Richard, brought into prominence a feeling which must, consciously or unconsciously, underlie the action of the electors of the Merthyr boroughs. Mr. Richard is eminently a representative man, and on some great questions he represents the whole of the Principality. 'Who but he,' the chairman pertinently asked, 'when



poor Cardiganshire tenants were turned out of their holdings, dared to pluck those little Cardiganshire squires by the nape of the neck, and place them on the floor of the House of Commons to receive the odium their conduct deserved? How many members would have had the will? and if they had the will would have had the power? and if they had the power would have had the pluck to have done this noble act? What the chairman said is strictly true." We understand there is little doubt of Mr. Richard's triumphant return.

## LIVERPOOL.

A correspondent, writing last night, says:—"There are five candidates for three seats. The two Liberals are Nonconformists, but, unfortunately, both of them think the 25th clause, or its equivalent, necessary. Hence a split among the Nonconformist voters. There will be many abstentions, but how many or how few, it is impossible to say. Both the candidates will vote for disestablishment, but their views on the education question have thrown a damper on the Liberal party. The teetotallers will vote for them, and the division in the Tory ranks in favour of Mr. Simpson, the working man, will work in their behalf. Yet it is not probable that more than one Liberal will be seated. It has been found well nigh impossible to contest South-West Lancashire in consequence of the division among the Liberals on the 25th clause. Many Nonconformists refuse to work and vote for candidates who are not sound on this point; and at present the Whigs rule the Liberal camp."

## ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

The subjoined information has been received from special correspondents who have engaged to supply us with information direct during the general election:—

## ESSEX AND SUFFOLK.

Our Colchester correspondent says that the Liberals and Nonconformists of that town were quite united in support of Dr. Brewer and Mr. R. K. Causton, with what result the poll of yesterday would reveal. In East Essex the Conservative candidates, Colonel Brise and Mr. Round, are threatened with opposition, the *Essex Telegraph* stating that two Liberals will come forward, and requesting the electors to withhold their promises until they hear their addresses. If we are correct in assuming who they are, they may count upon the support of the Nonconformists of East Essex. At Maldon, since the retirement of Mr. Stevenson, the Liberals and Nonconformists give a hearty support to Sir John Bennett against Mr. Sandford.

Nothing fresh has occurred in West Essex. In South Essex there is a lively contest between the old Liberal members and two Conservatives, and the Nonconformists, who were considerably dissatisfied with Messrs. Baker and Johnstone, have obtained such concessions as will enable them to give the Liberal candidates a united support. The contest is severe, the supporters of the Tories, Messrs. T. C. Baring and Lieut.-Col. Makins, being very vigorous in their efforts to oust the Liberals.

Our Ipswich correspondent writes:—"The polling takes place on Wednesday. Great efforts have been made by both parties, but we see no great reason to fear that the old members, Mr. Adair and Mr. West, will be defeated. The register is heavier than it was five years ago, when Mr. West beat Mr. J. C. Cobbold, the father of one of the present candidates, and an old member, by 151. On this occasion the Liberal party have to dispose of Mr. J. P. Cobbold, who is a brewer as well as a banker, and the publicans are nearly all in his favour, the exceptions being not worth counting. The other Tory candidate is Mr. Bulwer, a barrister on the Norfolk circuit, the candidate of the Conservative Working Men's Association. The Liberals have no doubt their work to do to beat the beer-barrels, but actual beating will be necessary to convince them that they have actually lost ground."

In the county, Colonel Tomline has come forward for East Suffolk, where a strong Dissenting feeling prevails—that is, of the good old Puritan sort, not just now evoked. Colonel Tomline meets their views. If no harmonious arrangement can be arrived at, he will vote for the repeal of the 25th clause.

Lord Barrington has been returned unopposed for Eye, Sir E. Kerrison's pocket borough, and has thanked the "independent" voters for their confidence! The polling takes place to-morrow (Tuesday) at Bury St. Edmunds, and I fear Mr. Hardcastle and Mr. Lamport will have their work to do to beat Mr. Greene, the brewer, and his colleague, Lord F. Hervey, brother to Lord John Hervey, who is contesting Bath in the Liberal interest. In West Suffolk the old Church and Tory candidates, Lieut.-Col. Parker and Lord A. Hervey, another member of the Bristol family, have been returned unopposed. The district favours the divine right of Toryism and the due subjection of everything to Church and Tory. Recurring to East Suffolk, it is believed that Col. Tomline will make a good fight of it. Tory influence is strong. The parsons have on previous occasions proved themselves good Tory canvassers, and as there are two Tory Lords in the field—Mahon and Rendlesham—they are not likely to slacken their interest in the election, even if there is no Irish Church to talk about and defend. This will be the first contest in the division, and the result is looked forward to with much interest. It will be remembered that Lord Waveney, when Mr. Adair, commenced, more than thirty years ago, to break down the Tory power, and did not succeed, though he gradually crept up on the poll, until at the last election he was no great way in the rear.

## THE WEST RIDING.

Bradford, Monday.

**THE NORTH-WEST RIDING.**—Lord F. C. Cavendish, one of the retiring members for this division, has again been adopted by the Liberals, and Mr. Matthew Wilson, of Eshton Hall, has been selected as his colleague; the meeting of representative Liberals being of opinion that there would be more certainty of success, than if they adopted Mr. Isaac Holden, who was defeated by Mr. Powell at the recent contest. Lord F. Cavendish has consented to the repeal of the 25th Clause, and Mr. Wilson is also in favour of the alteration of the Education Act, and the Liberals have gone in heartily for their two candidates, and are pretty confident of success. Mr. Powell, the Conservative retiring member, has been joined by Mr. W. Fison, of Burley, a partner of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster.

**EASTERN DIVISION.**—Sir John Ramsden and Mr. Isaac Holden have, in compliance with the request of the Liberal party, consented to stand for the Eastern Division, in opposition to the retiring Conservative members, Mr. Fielden and Mr. Denison. Both have declared for a repeal of the 25th clause, and of course Mr. Holden is a hearty supporter of religious equality.

**HUDDERSFIELD.**—Mr. Leatham, Liberal candidate, has returned from the continent and addressed the electors on Friday night. It has always been expected that Mr. Leatham would be opposed by Mr. Henry Bentley, a brewer in the neighbourhood, who had some time since announced his intention of coming forward in the Conservative interest. On his name being submitted to a Conservative meeting, however, it met with some opposition, and eventually Colonel Brooke was asked to contest the borough on "moderate constitutional principles," and consented.

**HALIFAX.**—Messrs Stansfeld and Crossley, the Liberal candidates, are opposed by a local Conservative, Mr. M'Crea. Mr. Stansfeld has consented to the repeal of the 25th clause, and this having had the effect of thoroughly uniting the Liberal party, there is very little doubt but that Mr. M'Crea will be defeated.

**LEEDS.**—At Leeds affairs seem to be in anything but a good way for the Liberals. At a large meeting held last week in the Corn Exchange, the names of three Liberal candidates were submitted, it being understood that the one who received the least number of votes should retire. Messrs. Baines and Carter having been declared to have received a majority, Dr. F. R. Lees, who had been proposed in the temperance interest, after considerable pressure withdrew. It was afterwards discovered—so it is alleged—that from some minutes that have been found in the handwriting of the chairman of the meeting that if the decision had been in favour of Dr. Lees the friends of other candidates would have appealed against the decision to a larger meeting. Indignant at this discovery Dr. Lees' friends then urged him to stand, and he has accordingly consented to be nominated. The Conservatives are running two candidates, Mr. Wheelhouse and Mr. Tennant.

**SHEFFIELD.**—By means of a reference to a test ballot, taken to decide whether Mr. Chamberlain of Birmingham, or Mr. Allott, the local Liberal candidate, should be the second Liberal candidate to run with Mr. Mundella, and which resulted in Mr. Chamberlain being chosen, unity has been restored to the Liberal party, and Mr. Allott has retired. Mr. Roebuck is the third candidate and has delivered several addresses in his old vein. The excitement in Sheffield is very great.

**KNARESBOROUGH.**—Mr. A. Illingworth has withdrawn from the contest at Knareborough, and Sir A. Fairbairn, of Leeds (L.), will oppose Mr. Basil Woodd (C). You will know the result of to-morrow's poll.

**DEWSBURY.**—The Conservative candidate, Captain Colbeck, has to-day expressed his intention of not continuing the contest, although as he has been nominated he will be obliged to go to the poll. The contest will therefore be between Sergeant Simon, the old member, and Mr. J. C. Cox, of Belper. The former is supported by the licensed victuallers.

## NORTH-EAST OF ENGLAND.

Our correspondent writes:—"T. E. Smith, Esq., was returned on Saturday without opposition for the parliamentary borough of Tynemouth, that is really for North Shields. There will be no contest in the two divisions of the county. At present three Tories and one Liberal represents Northumberland. We are sure, however, that a Liberal could have been sent as a colleague of Mr. Wentworth Beaumont in the Southern Division. When these notes are published the Newcastle election will be over, though the result cannot be declared before Wednesday night. The polling is on Tuesday, the 3rd. The situation is much more complicated than last week. Though we did not then say so, our hope was that some one would have been found to take Mr. Headlam's place, who should be acceptable alike to the Moderates and the Radicals. It has become impossible to say now how the election will go. Mr. Cowen is pretty sure, though even he might go to the wall, through the generosity of his friends splitting with Mr. Headlam. This is the situation. Mr. Cowen will be supported by all Liberals who are really Liberals, and who do not through misconception and prejudice personally hate him. Never, perhaps, was a noble nature, through advancedness of thinking and high political friendship with men like Mazzini, Kossuth, and others, so thoroughly misunderstood. The wonder is that at the recent election Mr. Cowen's majority was as

great as 1,003, for local men knew that Moderates were mean enough to combine with Tories politically to crush him. On account of this conduct of the Moderates it will be difficult to get some Radicals to vote for Headlam. Mr. Headlam will however receive votes from Radicals who are anxious for the retention of Mr. Gladstone in power, from the Moderates, the Licensed Victuallers, Churchmen, and a few Tories anxious to keep Cowen out. Mr. Hamond will have the support of Tories, Irishmen (following the lead of their priests) the licensed victuallers, and these moderate Liberals so-called whose political hatred of Mr. Cowen is stronger than their allegiance to party. What more can your correspondent say? He has said enough to explain the situation when the result is known. We could have made quite certain of returning two thorough Radicals, but Mr. Headlam is a great embarrassment, not for the first time—may it be the last! Mr. Burt (the representative of the miners) will have an overwhelming majority for Morpeth and its allied boroughs. It is astonishing the interest his candidature excites. Leading commercial men in the district, and even members of Liberal aristocratic families, send him encouraging letters enclosing cheques towards expenses. His opponent is Capt. Duncan, a Tory. So far the election has been a model for good temper. On Saturday Capt. Duncan was attending a great open-air meeting of Mr. Burt's, and was invited by the latter to take a seat beside him on his platform cart. Mr. Burt is thoroughly with us on the Liberation and Education policy. At Berwick on Saturday were nominated Viscount Bury, Stapleton, Sir John Marjoribanks, and Capt. Milne Horne.

The situation in North Durham has totally changed since last week, and much for the better. It got noised abroad, with what exactness of truth we know not, that there was some understanding, perhaps a strictly tacit one, that Sir H. Williamson, the Liberal, and Mr. G. Elliot, the Tory, would neither of them disturb the *status quo*; in other words, each made himself a party to the stultifying of the political influence of North Durham. A breeze began to blow. Before it Sir H. Williamson retired: and now there are two Liberals in the field, Mr. J. Lowthian Bell, and Mr. Charles M. Palmer. On the other side, Mr. R. L. Pemberton is associated with Mr. G. Elliot. The Liberals fight two Conservatives, and the Liberals will win. At the last election Mr. Elliot, who, now very wealthy, has risen from the position of a working miner, kept his Toryism in the background, and was carried by the constituency as the "bonnie pit laddie." But, like some others, he is dead against the class from which he has risen; and his constituents have found him out. The spell is broken. The Liberals will be good Gladstonians, not much more; but that is something. In South Durham the candidates are now Messrs. Pease and Beaumont, Liberals, and Viscount Castlereagh, an out-and-out Tory. Mr. J. C. Stevenson was returned without opposition for South Shields on Saturday. At Sunderland the polling is on Tuesday, the 3rd. They have two first-rate Liberals there against one Tory. In a part of your issue last week, you spoke disparagingly of Sir H. Havelock. Did not the Stroud Moderates constrain him to be reticent? He says what he thinks at Sunderland. Look at these sentences from his address:—

I am a Dissenter by conscientious conviction, consequently a staunch one. I have no hostility to the faith of the Established Church, but desire to see that Church adhere more distinctly to the principles of the Reformation. This she must do if she is again to be the Church of the English people. She needs reform, notably as to the scandalous scale of adwomans. Whether this much-needed reform can only be effected through disestablishment is, in my opinion, though now a question of the future, one which may at any moment become a pressing one. Whenever it comes to the front I shall apply to it the principles of religious equality which I believe, with the earnest hope that the cause of true religion may be advanced by the decision.

I am in favour of the abolition of the 25th clause of the Education Act of 1870, holding that the public rates should not be expended for the support of sectarianism, and that our national system of education should be entirely free from denominational bias.

Mr. E. Gourley we know. Mr. Bailly, the Tory, we don't know, and don't wish to. The election in Durham (city) comes off on Tuesday, the 3rd. Mr. J. Henderson (L), and Mr. T. C. Thompson (L), fight Mr. J. L. Wharton (C). The first and the last were the sitting members. At Darlington the candidates are Mr. Backhouse (L), Mr. H. K. Spark (L), who fights for the independence of the borough against the supposed unduly preponderating influence of the Pease family, and Mr. Bowles (C), who wrote the article referred to by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli on the Straits of Malacca. Middlesborough election comes off to-day (Monday). You will get the result, no doubt, ere publication. The general opinion is that Mr. Bolckow will head the poll. Mr. Hopkins (C) will be second, and Mr. Kane, the working men's candidate, third. At Stockton there is Conservative opposition in the person of Mr. Barrington to Mr. Dodds, the Liberal. Mr. Dodds had a most enthusiastic meeting on Saturday night, and was dragged in triumph to his house, 10,000 persons accompanying him. The election is going on to-day, and is to be declared to-night. At the Huddersfield Liberal, Mr. T. Richardson, now fight the late Conservative member, Mr. R. Ward-Jackson!

(Continued on page 110.)



## WHAT IT HAS COME TO!

## BRADFORD BOROUGH ELECTION.

*Conservative Resolutions in favour of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster.*

On January 27, the Committee of the Conservative Association met and passed the following Resolution:—  
"That the Conservatives of Bradford consider it inexpedient on the present occasion to bring forward a Conservative for the Borough of Bradford, and this Meeting feels that its support ought to be generally given to secure the return of Messrs. Forster and Ripley."

Their Organ adds:—  
"This resolution, it will be seen, does not commit the party to anything but a general support of the Gentlemen named in it, and it must not for a moment be supposed that, in supporting Mr. Forster, Conservatives in any degree commit themselves to the support of the Government, or to that of many of the principles which he holds, . . . and as his educational policy is one which has the cordial approval of the Conservatives, it has been resolved, as has been seen, to adopt such a course as will not at least imperil Mr. Forster's seat."

## Choice of Liberal Candidates.

On the Evening of the same day, at a large Representative Meeting held in the Alhambra Hall, Bradford,

MR. J. V. GODWIN, J.P.,

AND

MR. JAMES HARDAKER

Were unanimously adopted as the  
TWO LIBERAL CANDIDATES!

Bradford, January, 1874.

## BAPTIST UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

President—E. B. UNDERHILL, Esq., J.L.D.  
Vice-President—Rev. CHARLES STOVEL.

At a Special Meeting of Committee held Wednesday, January 28, 1874, at the Baptist Mission House, the President in the Chair, it was RESOLVED:—

I. That this Committee is constrained to express its great disappointment at the absence from the Prime Minister's recent address to his constituents, of any satisfactory assurances on those vital questions of religious and educational equality which are so deeply agitating the mind of the nation.

II. That, in the judgment of this Committee, (1) the repeal of the 25th Clause of the Elementary Education Act, (2) the refusal of any further grants to denominational schools, (3) the extension of the school board system to all parts of the country, and (4) the opening of parochial churchyards to the use, upon equal terms, of all denominations alike, are measures of urgent necessity, without which Baptists, in common with Nonconformists generally, will continue to suffer grievous oppression and wrong.

III. That, regarding the National Establishment of religion as the fruitful source of these and many kindred evils, this Committee earnestly recommends that the necessity for Church Disestablishment and Disendowment be pressed on all candidates for Parliament; and that no candidate be accepted by the electors who will not pledge himself to vote for the early enactment of the above-named measures.

R. STEANE, D.D., } Secretaries.  
J. H. MILLARD, B.A., }

**CITY OF LONDON ELECTION.**—Friends of Religious Equality! VOTE for Alderman LAWRENCE, the Disestablishment Candidate.

**CHELSEA ELECTION.**—Friends of Religious Equality! VOTE for Sir CHARLES DILKE and Sir HENRY HOARE, the Disestablishment Candidates.

**FINSBURY ELECTION.**—Friends of Religious Equality! VOTE for the LORD MAYOR and Mr. LUCRAFT, the Disestablishment Candidate.

**LAMBETH ELECTION.**—Friends of Religious Equality! VOTE for Sir J. LAWRENCE and Mr. M'ARTHUR, the Disestablishment Candidates.

**SOUTHWARK ELECTION.**—Friends of Religious Equality! VOTE for Mr. ANDREW DUNN, the Disestablishment Candidate.

**TOWER HAMLETS ELECTION.**—Friends of Religious Equality! VOTE for Captain MAXSE, the Disestablishment Candidate.

**TO THE FRIENDS OF RELIGIOUS EQUALITY** in the METROPOLITAN BOROUGH. Give your earnest support to those Candidates who will advance your views. The Metropolitan Constituencies should return an increased number of Members who are in favour of perfect religious equality, and they will do so if you faithfully discharge your duty.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.  
Liberation Society, 2, Serjeants'-inn, Fleet-street.

## METROPOLITAN CANDIDATES AND THE NONCONFORMIST VOTE.

At a meeting of the London Nonconformist Committee, held on Monday, Feb. 2, James Heywood, Esq., F.R.S., in the Chair, it was unanimously RESOLVED:—

"That this Committee, having had before them the Addresses of the Liberal Candidates for the Constituencies in the Metropolitan District, would recommend all Electors to support those Candidates who show a fair and honourable desire to meet the just demands of Nonconformists on the 25th Clause of the Elementary Education Act, but would urge them to withhold their votes from those gentlemen who distinctly announce their resolution to oppose the repeal of that obnoxious clause."

JOSEPH SHAW, Secretary.

Just Published, price Twopence,

**THE 25TH CLAUSE AND THE LIBERAL PARTY.** A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. By J. Guinness Rogers, B.A. Published for the London Nonconformist Committee by James Clarke and Co., 13, Fleet-street, E.C.

## NONCONFORMISTS and the GENERAL ELECTION.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Congregational Union held this day, the following RESOLUTION was adopted:—

"That this Committee rejoices in the evidence afforded by the course of events in the present elections, of the growth of public opinion in harmony with the views so often expressed by the Union and the Committee, in opposition to the 25th Clause of the Elementary Education Act, welcomes the declarations of Mr. Gladstone and other ministers, as indications of an intention on the part of the Government to remove the grievance which has been so keenly felt by the Nonconformists, and records its sympathy with those friends in all the constituencies who are seeking even at the cost of separation from those with whom they have hitherto acted, to prevent the election of Candidates who declare their intention to maintain the clause."

ALEXANDER HANNAY, Secretary.

February 3, 1874.

## TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS and NON-ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of SOUTH-WARK.

GENTLEMEN,—  
The trumpet has sounded. The battle is at hand. My friends are enthusiastic and determined to win. My address has long been before you. Ten months ago I had the honour of receiving at your hands your most flattering requisition to become one of your Candidates at the next election. Since then, from day to day, and from week to week, I have had abundant proofs of your confidence and friendship in all parts of our ancient and important borough. It is a source of no small gratification to me that in his recent manifesto Mr. Gladstone has dwelt upon so many of the topics referred to in my address. I, however, cannot but regret that he has not given a more certain sound upon the amendment of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, more especially as regards the repeal of the 25th clause, and that he has not had the courage to mention Disestablishment. Let us hope that silence means consent, and that some day he will devote himself to complete the work so earnestly begun in Ireland.

With sentiments of respect and good feeling towards all my neighbours, I will advocate absolute religious equality to the utmost of my power, and endeavour to abolish every cause of vexation between different classes of the community. Working men may rest assured that their special questions shall have my earnest attention, and that all their just rights shall have my best advocacy.

The proper appropriation of the enormous ecclesiastical resources, University and educational endowments, with other trust funds, shall have my special attention, so as to secure the real recognition of the rights of the poor. The perversion of the trusts, as in the case of Dulwich College, is a public scandal, and calls loudly for reform.

The crisis is great. Let me earnestly and respectfully ask your cordial support on the day of election, and that in the meantime every true Liberal will kindly make some sacrifice to influence others on my behalf, and so serve the cause of popular rights, peace, justice, and economy.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

ANDREW DUNN.

Crown Iron-yard, Southwark, Jan. 27.

P.S.—Friends who wish to have copies of the address which was published in March last will please send for them to 42, White-street, or any of the Committee-rooms.

## ALLESLEY PARK COLLEGE, WARWICKSHIRE.

(Three miles from Coventry Station.)

This Institution was established in 1818, and presents the following claims:—

Ample space, and elaborate provision for domestic comfort, in a house of sixty rooms.

A large area of park, a gymnasium, bathroom, and systematic drill for physical training. Workshops, laboratory, and art studio.

Moral suasion and equity the sole basis of rule. Religious catholicity.

A thorough education in Latin and Greek, optional; in French and German, mathematics, chemistry, mechanics, and vegetable and animal physiology.

Every boy is, as far as practicable, trained to clear and rapid writing, quick and accurate arithmetic, and English composition.

Time economised, interest excited, and progress facilitated by the most approved methods of teaching and study.

Nearly sixty students hold the University certificates, twenty have the Oxford title, and three have matriculated at the London University, in the first division, and many hold lucrative public offices.

Allesley Park, whilst it amply provides for classical studies, presents peculiar advantages to students designed for manufactures, commerce, or agriculture.

The terms, which are very inclusive, are from 40 to 50 guineas per year.

The PESTALOZZIAN SCHOOL for little boys, under a trained and experienced lady-teacher, has a separate school-room, dining-room, playground, and dormitory.

The terms for this school are 30 guineas a-year to ten years of age.

Full prospectuses, with ample reference, examination papers, forms of entry, and other papers, may be had of the Director, THOMAS WYLES, F.G.S., Allesley, near Coventry.

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Vice-Master—Mr. ALFRED S. WEST, M.A., Gold Medalist of the University of London; M.A., Senior Moralist, Cambridge; late of Trin. Coll., Camb., Fellow of University Coll., London.

And Seven other Masters, Five of whom are Resident.

The course of instruction is such as to fit Pupils either for the learned professions or for a business career, for which the great majority are intended.

Candidates were first sent up from this School to matriculate at the University of London in 1819. Since that date ONE HUNDRED AND NINE have passed, of whom 34 took Honours. The Exhibitions for the first, second, and third, Candidates have each been gained once, and Prizes five times, since 1865.

The Gilchrist Scholarship of £50, tenable for three years, has been obtained SEVEN times out of nine awards; and Entrance Exhibitions at University College, London, four times.

Other Scholars have been successfully prepared for entrance at Trinity College, Cambridge, for the University Local Examinations, and for the Preliminary Examinations of the Incorporated Law Society and the Royal College of Surgeons.

The NEXT TERM will commence on WEDNESDAY, Jan. 21st. The payment, made in advance for the Board and Tuition of a Pupil

Above 12 years of age, is £22 per Term.

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## The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1874.

## SUMMARY.

We have summed up below the results, thus far, of the electoral conflict now raging in the borough constituencies, which will hardly terminate before Friday. The uncertainties which this week mark the political strife in towns will next week affect the counties, where Liberal candidates are increasing, and the ballot may assist their claims. It is just possible that Mr. Gladstone's promised financial boons may prove a great attraction to the farmers. In Scotland apparently the Liberals will not be so triumphant as in 1868, while in Ireland the suddenness of the dissolution has disorganised the Home Rule party, so that the character of the representation of the sister island may not be much altered. A genuine Irish repealer will be almost as rare a phenomenon in the new Parliament as a veritable working man.

The announcement of a decided victory over the Ashantees would perhaps help to swell the majority for the Government—if majority they are to have—but that advantage is denied them. The news from the Gold Coast is that Sir Garnet Wolseley's little army of 3,000 British troops was on the 9th of January crossing the Prah, but that their movements were greatly impeded by the wholesale desertion of the lazy and terrified Fantee carriers, and that it would be necessary to employ a West India regiment for transport purposes. The special importance of this fact arises from the almost entire absence of other means of conveyance. The weather was, however, most agreeable, and the health of the troops excellent. The King had sent an embassy to sue for peace, but the British commander declined to negotiate till he had reached Coomassie. One-half the distance was likely to be undisputed, but the remaining twenty miles might be easily defended, if the Ashantees were in the fighting mood—which is a doubtful contingency. In another fortnight, but hardly sooner, decisive news may arrive. We only hope that a speedy and satisfactory peace may be concluded, and that this vexatious war may not cost more, as Mr. Goschen hints, than a million sterling.

The French Government is somewhat anxious as to M. Gambetta's interpellation relative to President MacMahon's powers, which it is expected the Legitimists will support unless they can exact a promise that the Monarchy is to be an open question. But the Duc de Broglie and his colleagues have decided that the present seven years' settlement must be held to be inviolate, and the Left not being very zealous to upset an arrangement which prolongs the Republic, the interpellation will perhaps fall to the ground.

Charmed with the demonstrations of sympathy with their Government in the struggle against Ultramontanism, the Germans are organising responsive meetings in Berlin. Prince Bismarck has, however, more serious work in hand. The prolonged resistance of Archbishop Ledochowski to the recent ecclesiastical laws has ended in his arrest at Posen, and his conveyance to a prison in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, where he will enjoy the honours of martyrdom. One would have thought that his exile from Germany would have better answered the purposes of the Government. The sturdy Swiss, without any fuss, expelled



Mgr. Merillod, who has not since given the Federal or Geneva authorities much trouble.

The Carlists are at length feeling the effects of a more energetic Government at Madrid wielding a disciplined army. Though Bilbao is all but within their grasp, the large force sent to the aid of General Moriones is beginning to tell in the campaign. The Carlist stronghold Iba Guardia, between Logroño and Vittoria, has been taken, and we may soon hear of the relief of Bilbao. The insurgents have lost their chance, and though they may still offer an obstinate defence, their movements are reduced to the dimensions of a local rebellion.

During the present election excitement little attention is given to the terrible calamity impending over Bengal, where, it is now officially stated, ten per cent. of the population of the distressed districts will have to be fed by the Government for seven months, at a cost of three millions sterling. A despatch of the Duke of Argyll's formally approves the steps taken by the Viceroy and his advisers "to anticipate the necessities which may arise." The time of trial is at hand. Copious rains have fallen, but too late to affect the rice crop, though it will save the fodder and replenish the rivers and wells. The stores of grain at command of the Government are not stated, but Lord Northbrook is still averse to prohibit exportation, which it is admitted would satisfy native opinion. The people were flocking to the public works, and the reports state that "in Oude there is much suffering from frost and drought," that "in Upper Tirhoot there is already great distress, and the inhabitants are eating wild roots," and that "Gonda is in a distressed condition."

#### THE SNAP ELECTION.

THE more quietly, dispassionately, and inquiringly we look at the last move of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, the less does it commend itself to the approval of our reason. The election now in progress too much resembles a "snap division" in the House of Commons. The result will not be, as it should, an expression of the thoughtful determination of the country. It may succeed, or it may fail, in giving to the present Administration a larger majority than would have been otherwise obtained. If comparative failure should follow upon this sudden appeal to the will of the nation, it will carry with it none of that collateral moral support found by experience to be so useful to a Government deficient in the number of its adherents. On the contrary, if the *coup de main* should succeed, the majority returned by means of it will be wanting in that inherent authority, the repeated expression of which exhibits the highest form of political power. There are several aspects in which it may be studied, and not one of them, we think, is calculated to win us to the conclusion that the example is one worthy of being followed.

It does not appear to us, we are constrained to acknowledge, that any solid justification has been yet given for thus taking the electoral body by surprise. One can imagine such an unforeseen conjuncture of circumstances as might compel a Minister, intent only upon the well-being of the country, to summon it in hot haste to the discharge of that duty which the Constitution has devolved upon it. Information of the most serious moment reaching the Prime Minister, through channels wholly unknown to the public, might leave him, as a prudent man, no alternative but that of forthwith gathering around him a new Parliament. So far, however, as we are able to infer from the explanations which have been put forward by members of the Cabinet, the abrupt dissolution of the last Parliament, and the instant convocation of another, are primarily due to party exigencies. In love and in war, it is said, all stratagems are excusable. The maxim may, perhaps, be held good in its application to political parties, but, unquestionably, in relation to the political Government of a country occupying so exalted a status as our own, we find it difficult to school our minds to anything approaching a moral acquiescence in a strategy of "sharp practice." A verdict may be wrung out of a weak-minded, hesitating, or imperfectly informed jury, by a coercive influence brought to bear upon it by external circumstances, but the verdict thus given, albeit it may be decisive for the time being, fails to acquire for itself the respect of the community.

The movement which is now culminating amongst the constituent bodies, appears to us to have owed its existence entirely to impulse. We doubt whether the least thought of it was entertained a month ago. It can hardly have been discussed by a Cabinet Council many days—perhaps only one—before it was resolved on. If it really has been in the contempla-

tion of Ministers from the time, say of the last election for Stroud, or from the day on which the meeting of the old Parliament was gazetted, one might have supposed that, in common fairness to electors of every class, some preintimation might have been given of what was likely to occur. Not the faintest suspicion, however, was excited; not the clearest foresight caught the most distant glimpse of what was about to happen. If Ministers themselves knew what they would most likely determine upon, they have not dealt fairly with the country in utterly concealing that knowledge. If they did not know, as we are inclined to think must have been the case, the conclusion at which they arrived must be ascribed rather to the impulse of the moment than to the steady exercise of the judgment. The affair, as far as we can see, will not bear strict analysis. Ministers may have hoped to "dish" either this party, or that, but the manoeuvre, even if it should succeed to the extent intended, cannot be regarded as one fitted to take a creditable position in history.

The House of Commons, supposed as it is to represent the matured judgment and will of the country, ought not to be exposed, in the selection of its members, to the intervention of chance, beyond what is absolutely unavoidable. The next House will be to a very great extent a chance House. It is not that electors individually have not made up their minds as to most of the prominent questions with which the new Parliament is likely to deal. But of what use will be even the most careful judgment they may have formed when they are compelled by the conditions under which they are driven to act to send up to Westminster the first candidate they can lay hands upon, lest the lapse of a day or two might make it necessary for them to take one far less to their mind? The fact is, few constituencies have had time to turn round and arrange for their future representation. Here and there that may be an advantage—generally speaking, however, it is unfair to the country, unfair to public opinion, unfair to intending candidates, and unfair to unprepared constituencies, thus suddenly to challenge an electoral verdict without having allowed time for the accurate utterance of it. Nor is this all. So far as the programme put forward by Ministers relates to financial changes, there is no great difference of opinion in the country; as far as it comprises controversial questions, it is from the very nature of things shadowy and vague. What will the next House of Commons really represent? What phase of public thought, what penetrating and pervasive principle of politics, will give it its distinctive character and tendency? Even on the hypothesis that it will be a Gladstone Parliament, ready to follow wherever he leads the way, can it be a matter of satisfaction, whatever may be the confidence of the nation in that great statesman, that he personally should discharge the responsibility which properly belongs to the whole people? Giving him credit for all that he deserves, is it, or is it not, desirable to substitute for the time being personal for constitutional Government? This is really the question which the elections in progress are about to solve. We cannot but express our deep regret that the political interests of the United Empire should ever have been permitted to shape themselves into a question of this sort.

The precedent is a bad one, always supposing that it be drawn into a precedent. It is full of danger to the political health of the country, and all the more dangerous because it occurs in connection with and under the sanction of an Administration which, on the whole, has governed itself by the rules of propriety and honour. We cannot shut our eyes to the probability that on some future occasion the *coup de main* will be repeated, perhaps even under circumstances less exacting than now. We will hope not. A snap division has ceased to carry with it any recommendation that will stand the test of time. A snap election, we confidently believe, will even more speedily fall into desuetude. What is gained by it will be a gain for evil. What is lost by it will be a loss for good.

#### THE BOROUGH POLLS.

WE write while the battle is going on, and the important conflicts of to-day and to-morrow are undecided. Thus far considerably more than one-third of the new House of Commons has been elected—136 Conservatives, and 106 Liberals. This disparity is accidental, owing to the postponement of many borough elections and the early return of unopposed county members. Up to last night the Conservatives had gained twenty-six seats, and the Liberals ten—a balance of sixteen in favour of the former—though, according to the *Daily Telegraph*, the Conservatives have won thirty seats, and the Liberals nine. It will be necessary for Mr.

Disraeli and his supporters to win a balance of some thirty-five seats before the Liberal majority of the last Parliament can be destroyed. This is not probable, notwithstanding the powerful aid of parsons and publicans, but apparently Mr. Gladstone's majority will be very small—possibly only one figure—and it is hardly necessary to say that a near balance of parties would forebode another general election at no distant date.

The Premier has been returned for Greenwich, but not with flying colours. Mr. Boord, the all-powerful distiller, heads the poll, and the second Conservative candidate was only about 400 votes behind Mr. Gladstone. The Conservatives have gained two seats at Cambridge and Wigan respectively, and one seat for Bedford; Chatham, Colchester, Exeter, Maldon, Plymouth, Scarborough, Wakefield, Warrington, and some other places. The Liberals have returned both members for Boston and Shrewsbury—displacing their opponents—and have obtained successes in Barnstaple, Droitwich, Durham, Poole, Westbury, and Worcester. Two county seats in Lincolnshire have also gone to the Opposition by want of Liberal candidates to contest them. In several boroughs the strenuous efforts of the Conservatives to oust the late Liberal members have failed, as at Bristol, Hastings, Macclesfield, Maidstone, Newark, Oxford, and Rochester; but the contest in nearly every case was exceedingly close. At Bath the second Liberal lost only by six votes, and the Conservative gain is said to have been the result of "unblushing corruption"; at Cambridge both the defeated Liberals were within a hundred votes of both their successful antagonists.

There seems to be little doubt that the new House of Commons will contain an unusually large proportion of old members. Amongst those who will be missed—in addition to such as had withdrawn before the election—are Sir John Pakington, who has been defeated at Droitwich, Mr. Otway, Mr. Rylands, and Mr. Hinde Palmer, who have been supplanted at Chatham, Warrington, and Lincoln respectively. The new Liberal members will include Mr. Corbett, who succeeds Sir John Pakington, Sir Sydney Waterlow, Mr. John Crossley, and Mr. Hill. No working man's candidate has yet been returned, and amongst the defeated Liberals are one or two conspicuous supporters of the Liberation Society.

This is the first general election under the Ballot. Although there has been here and there an overflow of excitement, the contests have been on the whole quietly conducted, and the "rough" as an element of election strife seems to have been entirely cashiered. The marked characteristics of the present electoral struggle are the general mediocrity of new candidates; the great disunion among the Liberal party owing to wide differences of opinion and special claims pressed upon candidates; the great influence of the licensed victuallers, which is almost universally thrown into Tory scale; the number of working-men candidates—not more than one of whom, perhaps, will enter Parliament—and the general transfer of the Catholic vote, thanks to Mr. Forster's apple of discord, from the Liberal to the Conservative side.

The speculations as to the general result of the elections to-day may be greatly revised to-morrow, and altogether out of date on Friday. As we write the polling at Bradford is going on. Mr. Forster may be returned again, but the desertion of his Ministerial colleagues on the education question—most of all of Mr. Lowe—to the side of reasonable concession is calculated to tell against the right hon. gentleman. This day also the political fortunes of Hackney, Marylebone, Hull, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield, and other important towns are being decided, and to-morrow the rest of the metropolitan boroughs and the remainder of the chief provincial towns will deliver their verdict. Mr. Lowe prays that the decision of the country may be clearly expressed. But his wishes are not likely to be realised, and with a very small majority in the House of Commons, the Cabinet will find itself confronted with one of those perplexing political problems from which England has for many years past been exempt.

#### THREE ORATORS.

THE conflicts of a general election have at least this resemblance to Homeric combat, that like the latter they are heralded by much high-sounding eloquence, in which the champions recount all the circumstances they can think of that may redound to their own credit and to the disgrace of their opponents. Last Saturday was specially devoted to this essential preliminary of the political fray; and the columns



of the morning papers on Monday presented, at the soon-to-be-emancipated breakfast-table, the rare treat of three great speeches at once, the utterances of the three greatest orators of the day. It must in all frankness be confessed, even by their greatest admirers, that not one of the speakers added anything to his reputation by Saturday's effort. The flatness and apathy which somehow or other characterise the present crisis seem to have affected the orators as much as the mud of the Red Sea did the chariots of Pharaoh, when, dismounted from their wheels, the charioteers "drove them heavily." Mr. Gladstone was of course fluent and subtle, Mr. Bright vigorous, Mr. Disraeli epigrammatic and smart. But each was less so than usual. Not one of them was in the position of the needy knife-grinder, who had no story to tell. But the two former laboured under a difficulty from the circumstance, of which they were evidently not unconscious, that the story most desiderated by their audiences was one concerning the future rather than the past. For the Premier has chosen to make his appeal to the nation in a form that concentrates all immediate interest on the Budget of 1874. And that is clearly a story which for the present must needs be left untold. It might naturally have been expected that the void thus left would have been filled up with some more distinct indications than we have had yet of those reforms in the relation of master and servant, whether employer and employed, or "voluntary" school manager and ratepayer, which had been so vaguely suggested in the "shadowed hints" of the Greenwich address. But so far as the speech of Saturday was concerned, we really learned nothing more than the fact already proclaimed, that Liberal finance has created an enormous surplus, of which Mr. Disraeli cannot with any fairness or safety to the country be left to dispose. The importance of this fact must not be undervalued; and we could wish that the current elections showed a more general appreciation of its bearing on the politics of the future. But at the same time it is impossible to repress the reflection that if Mr. Gladstone had felt himself in a position now to propose a fair extension of those great principles of religious equality which inspired him in 1868—if he had placed education reform before us as a distinct issue—or even had he explained more clearly his new policy on questions of land and labour, he himself would have felt the incitement of a higher purpose; and, if Tory opposition had been more passionate, at least Liberal apathy would have vanished. In the address delivered on Monday at Deptford, the Liberal leader condescended more to particulars, and, in answer to Mr. Disraeli's taunts, revealed so much of the forthcoming budget as to show that the ambiguous phrase about re-adjustment of taxation did not threaten any sensible increase of the burdens on property. It is no less satisfactory than amazing to be assured by one whose knowledge of his subject is so unimpeachable, that to abolish the income-tax, to reform the rates, and to diminish duties in favour of the consumer, we only need to find two millions, of which a part may be provided for by economy. But even this dazzling device of financial genius fails to rouse enthusiasm. The British Lion only winks in the sudden glare, and then with a grunt, once more drops his sleepy head upon his retracted claws.

Mr. Disraeli was of course—Mr. Disraeli. But even he was scarcely so much so as usual. He gratified himself, and no doubt pleased his audience, by his melancholy picture of "a Prime Minister who addresses his constituents on a rainy day from the top of a wagon on Blackheath." With laborious buffoonery he compared his opponent's bid for continued power to the trick of a shop thief who, when a jeweller handed him a "costly trinket" for inspection, "threw a quarter of an ounce of snuff into his eyes; and when the unfortunate tradesman recovered his sight and his senses, he found that his customer had disappeared, and the trinket too." When Mr. Disraeli assumes the pen of a novelist he never forgets the airs of a statesman; and when he plays the statesman he never forgets the craft of the novelist. If we might invent a term we should say that his mind is of a "coruscating" order. He revels in glitter, which we might almost suppose he mistook for splendour, were it not that whether he is discoursing to sentimental novel-readers or to full-fed farmers, we seem always to catch a side-long leer which reveals an inward chuckle of contempt. The writer who deals only in duchesses and ormolu must needs have at least a jeweller for the purpose of an insulting illustration: a "respectable tradesman" who dispenses only "costly trinkets." And the "quarter of an ounce of snuff"—the speaker is careful to show that he knows how little of that article will go a long

way—is a picturesque detail which betrays a true knowledge of the art of romance. Again our admiration is tickled by the astuteness which conjures with phrases as a juggler with yards of ribbon; and which draws an astounding principle from an unexpected definition, just as a prestidigitateur pulls a loud quacking goose out of a thin drawing portfolio. "What is our foreign policy?" he asks, in defence of his mischievous suggestion of lethargy at home and activity abroad. "It means," he replies, "the interests and affairs of England in foreign parts; and according to Mr. Gladstone you are not to attend at all to the interests and affairs of England in foreign parts." And he illustrates the application made by a sneer at "ignominious treaties and sham arbitrations." Well it is for the true "interests and affairs of England in foreign parts," that if the misfortune of a Conservative Ministry—which heaven forefend,—should fall upon us, the nobleman who would probably assume the responsibility of this department holds views on the subject substantially identical with those of the Liberal party. But Mr. Disraeli would have achieved a greater oratorical success if he had been called to confront the development of a more advanced policy. A Palmerstonian epoch is one of lassitude both to "ins" and "outs."

Even Mr. Bright feels the depressing somnolency of the time. His old depth of humour, a grim pitfall for jocular opponents, in which Mr. Disraeli's light quips have been more than once swallowed up and lost out of sight, was manifest again in his allusion to the charge of "harassing legislation." "Why, no doubt if they had been in the wilderness they would have condemned the Ten Commandments as a harassing piece of legislation." Others, besides impertinent clergymen, may have need, it would seem, to beware that there is danger in this grand old veteran yet. The best of this utterance is that it is simply true. There can be no doubt whatever that Tory principles would have condemned the Commandments in question as revolutionary on some points, and needlessly harassing on all. And we think it may generally be remarked of Mr. Bright's humour that it does not consist in any fantastic exaggeration, but in an unexpected putting of the real issue. The famous Scotch terrier illustration was a forcible representation of actual fact; and so with the Buckinghamshire mountebank's recommendation of "pills against an earthquake." But beyond this flash of the old fire, we feel compelled to say that there was nothing in Mr. Bright's speech more than the well-known story of Liberal doings in the past. It is not impossible that all three orators avoided the future, because they saw that the next decided advance must be made across the ruins of a political Church Establishment.

#### THE COUNTY ELECTIONS.

How is it that in thirty-five county divisions in England alone, Conservative candidates are to be allowed to take their seats—sixty-eight in all—unopposed? Surely there is some want of energy and courage involved here. It matters not that in most of these constituencies the Conservatives have for some time been successful. The pending election is to be decided under different conditions from those of past elections. We have now the Ballot, and any one who has canvassed in the counties knows how impossible it is to calculate upon the extent of the difference which that may make in the power of parties. As has been pointed out in the columns of a contemporary, there has been a dual tyranny in the counties—the landlords have coerced the farmer, and the farmers the tradesmen—so that the ballot ought to be doubly efficacious in the rural constituencies. With so much uncertainty, every county division should have been contested. The suddenness of the election may have acted as a hindrance to many coming forward who might have been induced to stand if more time had been given them to consider, but this very suddenness is an additional reason for putting faith in the help which the Ballot will be to the practical expression of the growing political intelligence of the farmers and other members of the rural constituencies. That there is not time to put the pressure on hesitating voters, is a reason for hoping that they will vote according to their principles without fear of possible consequences. Under these circumstances, we cannot but regret that the Conservatives are allowed a quiet triumph in so many county divisions.

But there are other considerations which would have given to Liberals a better chance than they have ever had before, even in counties in which Conservatism has long been in the ascendant. The farmers have, to a great extent, been awakened to a strong sense of the

need of reforms in the laws affecting agriculture. Now there is no doubt that those reforms are more likely to be brought about by the Liberal than by the Conservative party. The election addresses of the heads of the parties respectively are typical in this respect. Mr. Gladstone refers to all the most important reforms needed with respect to the Land Laws, the Land Tenancy Laws, and the Game Laws: Mr. Disraeli to none of them. The same difference to a great extent may be observed in the addresses of the Liberal and Conservative candidates for the counties generally, although of course the distinction is by no means uniform. This is what might have been expected. The Conservatives have always been the upholders of the power and privileges of the lords of the soil, and there is no reason to expect them to change their principles suddenly. No Conservative statesman would dare to abolish primogeniture and entail, any more than he would to disestablish the Church; and it is only a little less improbable that he would dare to touch with unsparing hand the great game evil, or to pass a compulsory tenant-right bill. The readjustment of local taxation would be taken up readily enough by a Conservative Government, for that would be popular with the landowners as well as with the farmers. The malt tax, too, might be repealed if the party should revolutionise its history sufficiently to allow its Chancellor of the Exchequer "the luxury of a surplus." But these are comparatively trivial questions, although the farmers, following their old leaders with more faithfulness than discrimination, have allowed them to be put in the front of their demands, especially as far as the chambers of agriculture are concerned. One other measure of greater importance than these to the farmers' interests—the prevention of cattle-disease—would probably be carried by the Conservatives if they were in power, as it will probably also be carried if their opponents are at the head of the Government. But these three benefits are about all that the farmers can expect from Mr. Disraeli's party, and for at least one of them they would probably have a long time to wait. But these are far outweighed by the vastly more important reforms that we have above referred to as virtually promised by Liberal statesmen. This is a consideration that has no doubt been duly pondered over by those of the farmers who have acquired the habit of thinking out their own politics, and that therefore has not been sufficiently taken into account by the wire-pullers of the Liberal party, as we see from the scanty number of Liberal candidates put forward for the county elections.

In making the above remarks, we are far from denying that many individual Conservative candidates are excellent representatives of the farmers and other members of the county constituencies. Our remarks apply to the parties considered as aggregates, and it is only so that the general policy can be safely counted on. There are Liberal Conservatives just as there are Conservative Liberals, and members do not always vote with their parties. But such men as Mr. C. S. Read for instance, useful as they are in the House, cannot carry measures of a liberal character like the Landlord and Tenant Bill without a considerable amount of assistance from their political opponents. We know that the Conservative party were generally opposed to the 12th clause of that bill, without which the bill would have been merely a permissive measure. If the bill in its integrity had been carried last session, it would have been carried by the Liberals, and it will be the same in the next Parliament. But whether the farmers vote for Liberals or Conservatives, they will, if they have a proper spirit, insist on obtaining an expression of opinion from their would-be representatives upon the great questions of agricultural legislation. That those questions have been ignored in so many of the addresses of county candidates, is nothing less than an insult to the tenant farmers who in their chambers and clubs have for the past two years kept them so persistently before the public.

But there is another reason for expecting help to the Liberal party in the counties. A considerable number of the rural tradesmen are Nonconformists, and they will not be much attracted by the Conservative battle-cry, "Beer and Bible," which, being interpreted, means drunkenness and intolerance. Many of this respectable body of men have been induced at previous elections in Conservative districts to refrain from voting, as they could not conscientiously vote for Conservatives. Now they have the Ballot, and now, too, political independence is more widely extended than it ever was before. Any thorough Liberal—our readers know what in our opinion that comprehends—would command their earnest support.



Viewed, then, from several aspects, we cannot but conclude that the Conservatives in many county divisions have to congratulate themselves upon an easy victory gained entirely through Liberal pusillanimity.

### THE GENERAL ELECTION.

(Continued from page 107)

#### NORTH WALES.

Mr. Bright, in his speech at Birmingham, said "if there be any reaction anywhere, apparently the infection has not spread to the great central city of the country (Birmingham)." From present appearances we believe we can safely say that the "infection" referred to by Mr. Bright has not reached the Principality. Merionethshire has already re-elected its Radical member, Mr. Samuel Holland; the Cardiganshire Boroughs on Tuesday will elect Mr. David Davies, Llandinam; thus changing a very mild and moderate Whig for a firm Nonconformist and an advanced Radical. The old member, Mr. E. M. Richards, will have a quiet walk over the course in the county.

In Anglesey a Conservative has appeared at the last moment to oppose Mr. Richard Davies, but his seat is perfectly safe, so also is the new comer for the borough, Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Q.C., whose election is considered almost certain. Mr. Osborne Morgan, Q.C., will have a quiet walk over in Denbighshire; but the battle is becoming hot in the boroughs; Mr. Watkin Williams, Q.C., is opposed by a Conservative; but no one feels greatly alarmed for the safety of Mr. Williams's seat. In the Carnarvonshire boroughs the old member, Mr. Bulkeley Hughes, has been re-elected; but a fierce battle is raging in the county to regain the seat for Captain Pennant, Lord Penrhyn's eldest son, lost in 1868. Enthusiastic meetings are being held on behalf of Mr. Jones Parry, the late member, who is an advanced Liberal, and his friends feel very confident that he will be returned again, and that, it is hoped, with a crushing majority. The old member will be returned for the county of Flint. But in the boroughs there are two Liberals and one Conservative in the field; we sincerely hope that our friends in those boroughs will take care not to allow a Conservative to slip in between the two. We are deeply anxious throughout Wales for the safety of Mr. Henry Richard. The last news we have received from the headquarters is to the effect that every confidence is felt that Mr. Richard will be returned at the head of the poll.

#### THE WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Glasgow, Monday Evening.

The question of Church disestablishment is being left very much in the background in most of the election contests in this district. The dissolution of Parliament was so sudden, the appeal to the constituencies so hasty and direct, that no time has been left for a close investigation of the political creed of the candidates who have been hurried into the field. The Liberal party has been taken at greatest disadvantage; for while, trusting to the declarations of its leaders that no reason existed why Parliament should not run its full course of seven years, it had postponed all electoral action, its opponents had been reorganising and agitating ever since their signal defeat in 1868. Called at a moment's notice to decide as to the merits of Mr. Gladstone's administration, the various sections of the Liberal party have felt themselves bound rather to render a general vote of approval rather than prevent a Conservative triumph.

To this cause may be attributed the loss of Paisley to the Liberators. The constituency is known as one of the most advanced in Scotland; and its former member, Mr. H. E. Crum-Ewing, voted steadily with the Nonconformists. Failing health, however, compelled him some weeks ago to intimate his intention of retiring from Parliament as soon as a dissolution should take place; and when this intimation was made Mr. William Holms, a Glasgow merchant, announced his candidature and laid his plans. The result is that Mr. Holms, a Liberal politician and an excellent private gentleman, but a Churchman, has been allowed to walk the course; and on Saturday he was declared member for Paisley. The Rev. Mr. Hutton, one of the leaders of the more advanced Voluntary section of the United Presbyterian Church, made strenuous efforts to induce Mr. Ewing to take the field once more; but without success; and when the announcement of the declination was received it was too late to think of another man. Two other candidates who have been returned unopposed—Mr. Grieve for Greenock, and Mr. Gordon (Mr. Disraeli's Lord Advocate), for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen—are also Churchmen. Mr. H. Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal representative of a Liberal constituency, the Stirling Burghs, who, it is expected will be elected to-day, is avowedly hostile to the principle of Church Establishments, but has explained to his constituents that his connection with the Government, as Financial Secretary for the War Department compels him to follow the policy of his colleagues on this subject. His constituency have rested content with this explanation, for in most respects Mr. Campbell-Bannerman is a most acceptable representative, and they regard with satisfaction and pride his rapid elevation to an important Government office.

In Glasgow the situation is far from satisfactory. The retirement of Messrs. Dalglish and Graham left

the Liberal Committee in a very helpless state, and while they were cogitating and hesitating, several candidates entered the field unbidden. Once or twice during the past week no fewer than nine candidates were before the electors; but on the day of nomination only seven came to the starting point. Mr. Anderson, the former junior and Radical member; Mr. Crum (a nephew of the former representative of Paisley); and Mr. Bolton, the nominee of the Liberal committee; Dr. Cameron, editor of the *Mail*, a Catholic Home-Ruler; and two Conservatives. It is expected that the Home-Ruler may yet retire, and great efforts are being made to have the Liberal list reduced to three. Dr. Cameron, however, as yet has refused to be a party to these negotiations, and his prospects seem to be steadily brightening. He declares himself a Voluntary—an out-and-out opponent of the system of Established Churches—and his outspokenness has secured him many adherents; for in Glasgow Dissent, and especially that form of it represented by the United Presbyterian Church, is more influential than anywhere else in Scotland, and is admittedly stronger than the Establishment. But Dr. Cameron has entered the contest very much as a free-lance, and many Liberals feel that, in the present crisis, and more especially in recollection of the heavy Orange vote given at the school board election in favour of the Conservatives, he has made a mistake in refusing to co-operate with the Liberal committee. Perhaps he suspects some design to outwit or betray him; and this suspicion, if it exists, must be his justification. Of the other Liberal candidates, Mr. Anderson is understood to favour disestablishment, but so far as I have observed has never spoken on the subject, while Messrs. Bolton and Crum satisfy themselves with the declaration that they are opposed to all further endowments of religion. Sir Edward Colebrooke and the Marquis of Lorne, the unopposed candidates for North Lanarkshire and Argyllshire, have made similar declarations, as if they seemed to think the recognition of the impossible a concession to Dissent. They may perhaps be somewhat enlightened when they read that the more talkative of the Conservative candidates in Glasgow has frankly stated—"It never entered my head that we would get any more endowment from the State, and I do not intend to ask any." The gentleman who made that statement is Mr. Whitelaw, a partner of Mr. Baird, the iron merchant, who some months ago gifted half-a-million of money to the Church of Scotland. It is natural for him to feel that the Church as it stands is independent of the State; supported by such benefactors as Mr. Baird and Whitelaw himself, the Church should feel itself not almost, but entirely, independent.

Col. Mure, the former Liberal candidate for Renfrewshire, has again challenged conclusions with his Conservative opponent, Col. Campbell, and not without considerable hope of success; and in the neighbouring county of Dumfries, Mr. J. B. W. Brown, of Kilmaher, is making a gallant attempt to oust Mr. A. Orr Ewing, a Tory Churchman, who calls himself a Liberal-Conservative.

#### NORTHERN SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen, Monday Afternoon.

Only two constituencies north of the Grampians returned Conservatives to the last Parliament—the counties of Inverness, and Moray and Nairn. There is at present a fair prospect that the latter constituency will be won to the Liberals by Viscount Maeduff, who though not an advanced politician gives the promise of not lagging behind the average rank-and-file of the party. It is needless to say that he will do nothing to advance the great measures of the future until they reach what is called the "practical" stage; still his return is looked forward to with interest and expectation by Liberals in the north. Inverness-shire had a few days ago the prospect of an advanced Liberal candidate in the person of Mr. Augustus Smith, an English country gentleman; but territorialism is still very powerful in that county, and a decided clan feeling still exists and would militate strongly against a stranger, and an Englishman—and a few days' experience in the county has convinced Mr. Smith that the prospect of success was not such as to warrant his entering on a contest against Mr. Cameron of Lochiel. Ross-shire returns Mr. Alexander Matheson, a member of the well-known financial firm; and in the family constituency of Sutherland, Lord Ronald Gower retires in favour of his nephew, the Marquis of Stafford—Whigs all. An interesting contest is going on in Caithness-shire, where Sir Tollemahe Sinclair has given offence to landlords and tenants alike by his votes and refusals to meet his constituents. His opponent is Mr. Kidstone of Ferniegair, a Free Church Conservative, member of the Glasgow School Board, and strenuous advocate of the "Establishment principle," and of sectarianism in the schools. Professor Bryce of Oxford, an authority on questions of law and jurisprudence, though not a pioneer in regard to ecclesiastical questions, contests the Northern Burghs, but it is thought the influence of Dunrobin Castle may serve to send back Mr. Pender. Mr. Samuel Laing will be returned unopposed for Orkney and Shetland, and the influence of public opinion may be traced in the distinct advance he has made in ecclesiastical matters. He is now, though not anxious for disestablishment, prepared to vote for it as soon as it comes before the country in a "practical" shape.

The polling for the City of Aberdeen is proceeding while I write. Mr. Leith's colourless politics, the indefiniteness of his opinions, and his amenability to the influence of deputations, have served effec-

tually to alienate many of his former supporters. In addressing the electors last week he eschewed the questions of disestablishment and the Education Act; but in answer to questions from the Rev. William Bennett (Unitarian), while objecting to Mr. Miall's motions as "speculative," promised to support the responsible Government of the country whenever it takes the question in hand. Later in the week he was waited on by a deputation of members of the Liberation Society, who elicited a pledge from him that he would vote for disestablishment, though he refused to commit himself to any particular motion on the subject. The feeling at the meeting of electors was decidedly hostile to the late member; and this, with the persistent questioning of Mr. Bennett, elicited the declaration that the hon. gentleman was in favour of religious education being left to the parent and the minister. On the whole, however, Mr. Leith's views are strongly disapproved of by the advanced Liberals. The entire party now see that a great mistake was made in 1872, when Mr. Leith was returned, not because of any merits he was supposed to possess, but on account of local prejudice to the other candidate (Mr. Barclay, afterwards elected for Forfarshire). The advanced Liberals were unprepared with a candidate, and hence the election is between Mr. Leith and Mr. James Shaw, a Liberal-Conservative, who polled a small number of votes in 1872. Mr. Shaw was in Egypt at the time of the dissolution, but telegraphed his address. Very few electors are voting, there being a universal feeling of apathy, and a belief that the city will be misrepresented whatever be the result of the election. That result is at this moment exceedingly doubtful. There is still no opposition to the county members. Sir George Balfour's prospects in Kincardineshire are believed to be extremely good, and Mr. Barclay will probably be returned for Forfarshire without a contest.

#### DEVON AND CORNWALL.

Exeter, Monday Evening.

The county of Devon, with its three divisions, is almost wholly in the hands of the Tories—only one member out of the six, Sir T. D. Acland, for the Northern Division, being on the Liberal side. There is a large aggregate body of Nonconformists in the county, but scarcely sufficient in any division to move on their own account, and, as there is to be no contest, no opportunity offers for putting forward their claims and pressing them on the attention of candidates. Those who have referred to the Church in their addresses have the same cuckoo-note about the unqualified support of the Establishment, indifferent alike to the great body of Dissenters among the electors, and the alarming spread of Ritualistic Popery in the county. Sir Thomas Acland passes the church-door in discreet silence, although there have been heard some murmurings that he does not come up to the just expectations of the Nonconformists in their efforts to secure religious equality. It is not forgotten that although he voted for the Burials Bill in '70 and '71, nothing was heard of him on that side in '72 and '73, although he might have voted for it without forfeiting the benediction of his bishop, who spoke in favour of it in one of his charges. On the Education question his votes have been against the policy of Nonconformists, and of course as a Churchman he was against Mr. Miall's resolutions on disestablishment. Not a single vote in favour of any of the points of Nonconformist policy was given by any of the other men now on the cards of the county. On Saturday the first borough elections came off. The dull stagnation at Exeter was enlivened early in the day by the news that two Liberals had been returned without opposition for Taunton, whose electioneering affairs have lately attracted a good deal of attention. The late Tory candidate (Sir A. Slade), who wanted to get the Attorney-General out of his seat, gave as a reason for allowing the two Liberals, Sir Henry James and Mr. A. C. Barclay, to walk over the course, that, owing to the suddenness of the dissolution, he had not time to find a colleague. Great joy was felt in the Liberal camp at night, when the news spread that both at Tiverton and Barnstaple two Liberals had been elected. At Tiverton a very dangerous candidate, Mr. J. W. Walrond, a neighbouring squire, tried to prevent the return of the Hon. W. N. Massey, but lost his aim by twenty-four votes. The past votes of the first-named on the side of religious equality show that he cannot be reckoned for much; Mr. Massey, however, voted for the Burials Bill at the first opportunity after being returned for this borough. No doubt the Nonconformists, of whom there is no inconsiderable number in the town, did not forget their man on Saturday. At Barnstaple a seat has been gained; the late Tory member did not offer himself for re-election, but two Tories—Fleming and Holt—came out to contest the borough with the two Liberals, the retired member, Mr. T. Cave, and Mr. Waddy, son of the Rev. Dr. Waddy, a highly respected minister of the Wesleyan body. They are themselves both Nonconformists, and, on the Burials Bill at least, the old member voted right on every occasion. Barnstaple has a large and respectable body of Dissenters among its inhabitants, and the Congregationalists have at present a minister, the Rev. E. Bertram, who is not afraid to show his colours anywhere, and to defend them with marked ability. The basest thing done in these elections was at Tiverton, where a gang of fifty blackguards was imported from Exeter, and whose business it was to do rowdy work on behalf of Church and Constitution. They were paid a half sovereign each with board and



beer for their wicked work. Perhaps hardly another place in the kingdom could have furnished such a shocking looking lot as the cathedral city of Exeter, where priest and publican rule the roast. When it was known that these brigands had arrived, the next was to send to Exeter for a contribution of police to assist the local force. This demonstration of Tory wickedness is thought to have damaged the candidate it was intended to help. Exeter itself, it is feared, is sunk below recovery at this election. The important boroughs of Plymouth and Devonport, during the greater part of the late Parliament wholly represented by Liberals, are now invaded by four Tories, with, however, little hope of success. Tavistock, owned chiefly by the Duke of Bedford, and represented in the last Parliament by Lord A. Russell, is now contested by Mr. R. H. W. Biggs, another Liberal. The most lively scene reported during the elections was at Launceston on Saturday. This is always considered to be the pocket borough of the owner of the Warrington Estate, a large property near the town, lately purchased by Colonel, or, more properly, Brewer Deakin, of Manchester. On his acquiring the property, the late member, Mr. Lopes, Q.C., Recorder of Exeter, had a hint to clear out, which he accordingly did. Colonel Deakin has become a candidate for his own borough, bought and paid for; but, to the vexation of his soul, the great brewer of beer has to fight for his own with Mr. H. C. Drinkwater, a Liberal, who has been carrying on the contest with great spirit. The Nonconformist interest is strong in intellect and moral courage there, if not in numbers sufficient to carry a Liberal in this Tory close borough.

The county of Cornwall in both its divisions has been saved to the Liberals, a fact that stands in honourable contrast against poor Tory-ridden Devon. There was some talk of Walrond, defeated at Tiverton, making a second attempt on the Northern Division to oust Sir Thomas Acland; but Monday saw the two former members re-elected without opposition.

## IRELAND.

(From our own Correspondent.)

The dissolution of Parliament took the electors of the North of Ireland by surprise, as it did those of other parts of the United Kingdom. The effect seemed for a day or two to have paralysed all, and they could do nothing but wonder and prophesy. It was not till Tuesday or Wednesday that candidates and electors could collect their thoughts, and brace themselves to action. And now all are at work, and the prospect is that many of the constituencies (thanks to the Land Act and the Ballot) will change hands. Hitherto the votes of the farmers in the counties were regarded as the property of the great landlords, and woe to the man who ventured to oppose his master; but now all this is changed, and what the result will be a few days will determine.

So far as we see, most of the Ulster counties are likely each to have one, and some two, Liberal representatives. Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Donegal, and Londonderry are moving in this direction. In the last-named county the Liberals have selected the Rev. Dr. Smyth, Professor of Theology of Magee Presbyterian College, Derry, an eloquent preacher, a powerful platform-speaker, and a thorough Liberal, to fill the place of the Conservative Sir Frederick Heygate, who retires from Parliament on account of the state of his health. No one doubts the success of Dr. Smyth in this great Presbyterian county. Strange, though no one could have been selected more unpopular with the Tories, yet were they willing to accept Dr. Smyth provided the ex-member, Mr. R. P. Dawson, was allowed to go in without a contest. But it appears this is not to be, as Mr. Law, the Solicitor-General, has been asked, and has consented to stand in the Liberal interest in connection with Dr. Smyth. The probability is that both will be returned, and probably unopposed, as the Conservatives were thoroughly unprepared for a contest, and the Liberal candidates pledged themselves to advocate changes in the Land Act in favour of the tenants.

In the city it appears there will be a contest. The late M.P. for Derry, Mr. Lewis, is on the spot, and was so confident of having a walk over, that beyond sending out a few circulars and publishing an address he was doing nothing—but unexpectedly, Mr. B. McCorkell, a citizen and merchant who at the last election was a candidate, but withdrew, or was forced by his friends to withdraw at the last moment, has again come forward. He is a man of large means, kind, generous, and though not much of a party man, his sympathies have always been with the Liberals. If returned he will at least bring to the House a kind and genial spirit.

The Borough of Coleraine is likely to send a Liberal to the House, and a local merchant also, in the person of Mr. D. Taylor, to take the place of Sir H. Bruce.

Belfast and Newry will have contests. It is hoped, despite the powerful opposition of the Tories, that Mr. Thomas McClure will retain his seat in the former—and that Mr. Whitworth will relieve Lord Newry in the latter. The boroughs of Armagh and Enniskillen are trying to free themselves from Conservative bondage in which they have been so long held.

In the borough of Dungannon a local Liberal seeks to oust the redoubtable Major Knox. The Home Rule party have not shown their face anywhere in the north but in Cavan, and the prospects of Mr.

Biggar there, are far from promising. In the other three provinces it would appear that the Home-Rulers will have it all their own way. There Home-Rule and denominational education have prominence in almost every address; in Ulster the new men are pledging in favour of Mr. Gladstone and fixity of land tenure at reasonable rents. So far as the results can be foreseen, the north of Ireland will add considerably to Mr. Gladstone's strength; and though on the education question some of the new men may not see eye to eye with the Birmingham League, yet on most questions, such as the Burials Bill and the Disestablishment of the English Church, I doubt not they will be in sympathy with the Liberation Society. I am bound to say, however, that even on the question of education, public opinion in some influential quarters is decidedly favourable to the position taken up by the Nonconformists, in proof of which I need only quote from the *Londonderry Standard*, the organ of the Presbyterians. The editor, James McKnight, Esq., LL.D., in a leading article on Mr. Gladstone's Speech to the Electors of Greenwich, agrees with the Prime Minister on the importance of union among all sections of the Liberals. The able and accomplished editor says—

While entirely agreeing, in this respect, with the Liberal Premier, we cannot avoid remarking that, in his own primary address, he threw in a few sentences on the subject of the educational controversy in England, which scarcely harmonise with the exhortations embodied in the peroration of his own excellent speech at Greenwich. Mr. Forster, at Bradford, has gone considerably farther than the Premier did in the first instance, and he has largely aggravated an element which, far more than any other, has contributed to the disorganisation of the Liberal party in the last Parliament. The Nonconformist objection to the teaching of denominational religion in public schools, supported by State funds, is no mere "crochet." On the contrary, it involves a fundamental principle of State policy in general, namely, that in a divided community especially, it is no part of the right or duty of temporal Governments to propagate and perpetuate denominational doctrines at the common cost of the rate-paying public. This is exclusively the business and duty of denominational Churches themselves, at their own separate costs and charges, and if they refuse or neglect to fulfil this special obligation, they practically abdicate their own professed mission as custodians of what they regard as Divine truth. On the other hand, the objection as ratepayers to contribute their money for the propagation of teachings, which the conscientiously reject, is no imaginary "crochet"; it is a principle dictated by the highest and most enlightened reason, and one which lies at the very foundation of all religious consistency, whether the objector be a Protestant or a Roman Catholic; a Nonconformist or an Anglican High Churchman. The Divine obligation of this moral canon equally commends itself to the conscience of every thoughtful earnest religionist, whatever may be the outward and visible colour of his Christianity.

Hoping that the present election may result in a great accession to the strength of the progressive party in the House of Commons, I am, Sir,

S.

Monday, Feb. 2, 1874.

P.S.—To-day the election news is even more exciting. Donegal is likely to accept of the brothers Mr. T. Kennedy and Dr. E. Kennedy, whose united address is out, and thus to become free from the Marquis of Hamilton and Mr. Thomas Connolly. This will surely be a change; the Kennedys are ardent Liberals, and will have the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian votes. It is reported that Mr. Greer and Mr. Dawson have retired from the contest for County Derry, in which case the Rev. Dr. Smyth and the Solicitor-General will probably have a walk over. Mr. Lewis, it is expected, will lose his seat for the city of Derry. The polling takes place on Wednesday.

## MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

The Roman Catholics of Liverpool, who are a numerous body of voters, have decided to support the Liberal candidates, Messrs. Rathbone and Caine.

Upwards of 170 of the subscribing members of the National Education Union have appeared as candidates for seats in Parliament.

The Committee of the Protestant Alliance have issued an address urging electors to endeavour to secure the return of staunch Protestant members to the new Parliament.

Mr. W. H. Gladstone, the Premier's son, addressing the electors at Whitby, "had no hesitation in saying that he was not in the least wedded to the 25th clause, and would be glad to see it altered."

In defending the policy of the Government in reference to the Ashantee War at a crowded meeting of the electors of the City, Mr. Goschen expressed an opinion that the cost of that war would not exceed one million sterling.

Mr. Gladstone having been asked to receive a deputation on Church defence, replied on Wednesday that it is not possible for him to do so, and adds that his views on the subject of the Church have been very fully stated in Parliament.

Sir Henry Thompson, upon consideration, declined to stand for the University of London. He promises, however, to come forward on a future occasion if it should be the wish of any considerable number of the graduates that he should do so.

At a meeting of the electors of Macclesfield, on Wednesday, Mr. Alderman Bullock, in moving a vote of confidence in Messrs. Brocklehurst and Chadwick, who seek re-election as representatives of the borough, intimated that Mr. Chadwick has promised to present the town with 5,000. for a free library and 20,000 volumes of books.

The Fifehire and Clackmannan miners, at a mass meeting, have voted a sum of 100l., "and more if necessary," towards defraying the expenses of Mr. M'Donald, president of the Scottish Miners' Association, as a candidate for Stafford, and resolved that, in the event of his election, they would contribute 6d. per man towards his support while in Parliament.

At Burnley, Mr. Lindsay, the Conservative, had the support of the publicans on the one hand, and of Bishop Vaughan on the other. In Manchester and Salford the bishop's co-religionists are exhorted to vote for the Tory candidates; at Burnley they were advised not to vote at all. At all events Mr. Shaw was returned by a considerable majority for Burnley.

An address has been circulated by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society urging upon Parliamentary candidates the necessity, on the part of the British Government and of the Legislature, of vigorous action wherever British influence can be employed to put down the slave-trade and slavery. The committee lament that while so much remains to be done the Government have abolished the Slave Trade Department in the Foreign Office.

Sir Henry James, speaking at Taunton on Friday evening, said that Sir John Coleridge and Sir George Jessel, and, later, himself and Sir William Harcourt, being law officers of the Crown, had distinctly informed Mr. Gladstone, in answer to the right honourable gentleman's inquiries, that by taking on himself the additional duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer he did not render his seat vacant. This opinion, the Attorney-General said, was the full and firm conviction of his learned friends and himself.

It is stated in the *Birmingham Post* that on Sir T. Bazley's refusal to stand again for Manchester (since reversed) overtures were made with the view of bringing Mr. Gladstone forward as a candidate for that city, and were considered by the Liberal Committee, but were finally laid aside in consequence of the Nonconformist members of the committee distinctly refusing to assent to Mr. Gladstone's candidature. This refusal was based upon the paragraph in the Premier's address relating to the education question.

There seems to have been serious thoughts of bringing out Professor Mountague Bernard as a candidate for Oxford University in the Gladstonian interest, and a number of professors and tutors began to move in the matter. Mr. Bernard, however, declined the nomination on account of the shortness of the notice, and the insufficiency of time to work up such a scattered constituency.

In the course of his speech at Woolwich on Saturday, Mr. Gladstone quoted the following lines, which are said to have been received with roars of laughter:—

The farmers at Aylesbury gathered to dine,  
And they ate their prime beef and they drank their old wine.  
With the wine there was beer, with the beer there was  
"bacco,"  
The liquor went round, and the banquet was crowned  
With some thundering news from the Straits of Malacca.

A frightful accident occurred on Monday night at Bury, at a meeting of the supporters of Mr. Phillips, the Liberal candidate, in Messrs. Butcher and Chadwick's quilting warehouse. The floor of the building gave way, and a number of persons fell into the lower story. On clearing away the rubbish about forty persons were extricated. One was dead, and seven died immediately afterwards. About thirty are more or less seriously injured. Mr. Phillips escaped unhurt.

The Aborigines Protection Society has issued an address to its members and friends throughout the county urging them to press upon candidates the duty of supporting a policy which aims at the civilisation rather than the subjugation of native tribes. The address, which the committee are careful to explain emanates from men of all parties, is signed by Alderman M'Arthur (chairman), Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B. (vice-chairman), Mr. R. N. Fowler (treasurer), and Mr. F. W. Chesson (secretary).

There were election riots on Monday at Sheffield, Peterborough, and Lincoln. At Sheffield, a meeting of Messrs. Mundella and Chamberlain's supporters in Paradise-square was invaded by a band of "roughs" wearing Mr. Roebuck's cards in their caps, who, by fighting, pushing, shouting, and whistling, succeeded in preventing the speakers from being heard. Before the candidates spoke, their friends were called upon to dislodge the disturbers from their position, and the roughs were forced down some steps which they had occupied; and their places taken by others. The roughs, however, regained the steps, and a general free fight was carried on until the end of the meeting. Stones were thrown, and there was great excitement. At Peterborough last night no lamps were lighted, and there was a large mob opposite the Town Hall, by whom every respectably dressed person was molested. A large number of windows were broken. At Lincoln the sheriff's premises were attacked, and all the windows smashed. The military were called in to stop the riotous proceedings.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.—Mr. Goldwin Smith, in seconding a resolution in support of the candidature of Mr. Thomas Hughes for Marylebone on Friday, said he did not pretend to agree in all Mr. Hughes's views. He did not like the Education Act, for instance. On that



question he went with the Nonconformists; but he did not approve of their breaking away from the Liberal party, because if the Tories recovered power, that would shut the gates of hope, whereas the Liberals would keep those gates open in the matter of education as well as all other matters. He did not agree with Mr. Hughes on the Established Church question; but education would lead to the consideration of that question, and, in spite of all differences of opinion, he heartily supported Mr. Hughes, believing him to be true at heart and an upright and honourable man. There were far too few men of heart and brain like him in the House of Commons, which was becoming the mere representative of wealth—suffering from what the doctors called "fatty degeneration of the heart." In intellectual calibre it was far below the Congress of the United States, and to check its tendency to corruption more mind and heart must be introduced into it. Mr. Hughes would help to renew its strength, and would, moreover, return to Parliament as an adherent of Mr. Gladstone, whose heart he believed to be entirely true to the people. The country could not be too weary of Mr. Disraeli, who was still the Tory of old. It was said of Lord Stowell that he never tired of sight-seeing; he went everywhere, and was ready to pay his shilling whenever a strange thing was to be seen. Once a remarkable green snake was advertised to be shown, and upon his lordship's tendering his money to see it, the showman said, "No, no, my lord, you are too good customer for us to take you in; it is only the old brown snake painted green"—(laughter)—and so Mr. Disraeli remained the Tory of the past, with only this difference, that he had a coat of paint on. (Great laughter.) The danger to the Liberal party was its divisions. All sorts of selfish interests were combining to set themselves against the national progress; but the Liberals were not in a minority, they were only divided in mind, while the Tories were united—not in mind, but in manner, for there was not much about Toryism, and it objected to progress, whereas Liberalism had a mind and promoted progress.

#### THE EDUCATION ACT.

**LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.**—At Wednesday's meeting it was resolved, on the recommendation of the Finance Committee, that a precept for 149,866l. be issued. This, Mr. Freeman stated, was equal to 1d. in the pound on the rateable value of the metropolis. The debate on Canon Gregory's motion, referring to a committee the consideration of the statistics on which the board had built its scheme for providing the metropolis with schools, was resumed by the Rev. Evan Daniel, of Lambeth, and was further adjourned for a fortnight on the motion of Mr. J. A. Picton.

**HUDDESFIELD SCHOOL BOARD.**—The election for the school board in this town has resulted in the return of a majority of the unsectarian candidates as heretofore—seven to six. Votes for unsectarians, 69,982; votes for sectarians, 48,533; votes for Roman Catholics, 6,865.

**HULL SCHOOL BOARD.**—The election for this town has resulted in the election of five Churchmen, two Wesleyans, two Primitive Methodists, three Independents, one Roman Catholic, one Baptist, and one Churchman opposing the 25th Clause. The Church candidates received the smallest number of votes.

**DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS IN BIRMINGHAM.**—A memorial, signed by 228 managers of thirty-five voluntary schools in Birmingham, providing accommodation for 23,748 children, have been forwarded to the Committee of Council on Education. It remonstrates against the proposed rescinding of by the School Board of Birmingham of bye-law No. 5, which authorises the payment of fees to voluntary schools, and which has been already approved by the committee. They say that their objections are not dictated by any spirit of opposition to the school board, but arise from the conviction that the rescinding of the bye-law in question will for a time seriously impede the progress of education in Birmingham, especially as, by a recent vote of the school board, all religious instruction is formally excluded from board schools, which are thus rendered distasteful to many of the parents.

**BRISTOL SCHOOL BOARD.**—The result of the balloting for the new school board for this city has given much satisfaction to the Liberal party. Mr. Whitwell, one of the "Unsectarian six" nominated by the Liberal Association, was placed at the head of the poll by a majority of 1,800 above the most popular Tory candidate, and his five colleagues, together with two Wesleyan representatives, were all in a good position. The Conservatives succeeded in returning the five gentlemen named in their ticket, but they also counted on the election of three other denominationalists—the Rev. S. A. Walker, Mr. Turner, and Mr. Exley—and only one of these has found his way to the board. Including the nominee of the Roman Catholics, the new body consequently consists of eight Unsectarians and seven Denominationalists. Amongst the unsuccessful aspirants were a Good Templar, and a representative of certain working men, both of whom ran a very good race. Looking at the contest in a political point of view, it was eminently hopeful, the Liberal party having a majority, as nearly as can be estimated, of 2,117 voters.—*Bristol Mercury*.

**MR. R. W. DALE ON RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN BOARD SCHOOLS.**—Mr. R. W. Dale, who has been written to from Sheffield to deliver a lecture in that town on the religious difficulty, has sent a letter, in

which he says:—"I believe that religious teaching, to be worth anything, must be given by religious teachers, and I am, therefore, deeply dissatisfied with the religious teaching given in board schools, and believe that it is impossible that it can be made what I desire it to be. No school board in the country has attempted to make its teaching Evangelical. The attempt to do so would be justly resented. We ought not to have any faith taught at the expense of the whole community; nor has any school board endeavoured to restrict the choice of teachers so as to provide that they should all be religious persons. If they endeavoured so to restrict their choice, the restriction would be a violation of the first principles of political equity. The only possible solution of the difficulty is for Christian churches to provide, at their own cost, the religious instruction for children attending board schools, and to offer churches that desire it the use of the school buildings under the same conditions. The practical difficulties which have been raised to this proposal have been vehemently discussed in Birmingham during the last two or three months, and I am convinced that they are for the most part illusory." Mr. Dale then mentions the society which has been established in Birmingham for providing religious instruction to children attending board schools, and whose parents are willing they should receive it. The writer then goes on to state:—"At every successive stage of the preliminary proceedings, which led to the organisation of the society, I have discussed with Mr. Chamberlain the questions which have arisen. He has been perfectly loyal in his efforts to secure for us the first opportunity for giving the religious instruction we desire. There is, I believe, no doubt that the Birmingham School Board will accept the scheme, and the introduction into our schools of a really efficient system of Evangelical religious instruction will be very largely owing to Mr. Chamberlain's efforts."

#### FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The Emperor of Austria's departure from Vienna for St. Petersburg is fixed for the 11th of February. Pope Pius IX. receives, on an average, one hundred letters per day, and nearly all contain "religious remittances."

The *Hour's* Roman correspondent says Cardinal Riario Sforza, Archbishop of Naples, will probably be the future Pope.

The result of the elections for members of the Canadian Parliament, is as follows:—Ministerialists, 107; Opposition candidates, 23. The elections in seventy-two constituencies are still pending.

There is to be a meeting of men of all classes in Berlin shortly, as a manifestation in response to the resolutions passed at the recent London meeting, expressing sympathy with Germany in her struggle with the Pope.

In consequence of the persistent agitation of the Ultramontane clergy in Switzerland the Government in Berne has forbidden priests removed from office to stay in the Bernese Jura. Those ecclesiastics who have not exceeded their duties will be exempt from this measure.

Elections to the German Parliament have taken place at Strasburg and at Mulhouse. In both places candidates were returned who are in favour of Alsatian autonomy. At Strasburg the number of registered electors is 12,000, and of these 9,027 voted.

**GERMANY AND ITALY.**—The Berlin correspondent of the *Telegraph* says that the relations between the German Cabinet and the Italian Government have lately manifested a sensible coldness. The German Cabinet expected that the Quirinal would respond immediately to Prince Bismarck's request by communicating the genuine facts about La Marmora's alleged revelations; instead of which nothing has reached Berlin from the Italian Government but evasive answers. This lukewarmness (the correspondent adds) is interpreted here as a want of goodwill, and some dissatisfaction is felt that the Italian Ministry cannot make up its mind to bring before Parliament a bill dealing with the unauthorised publication of diplomatic and State documents. Exalted personages are disappointed to find Italian friendship testified only by words and not by deeds. It is believed that Prince Bismarck has expressed his opinion on the subject with his customary forbiddleness and clearness to the Italian representative at this court. The attitude of the Italian press—from which more cordiality and outspokenness towards Germany in regard to the Bismarck and La Marmora imbroglio was confidently expected here, has given great offence.

**THE ASHANTEE WAR.**—Advices have been received from Cape Coast Castle to January 9. Sir Garnet Wolseley reached the Prah on January 1. Ambassadors from the King of Ashantee arrived one hour later, bringing letters, the purport of which is unknown. A Naval Brigade crossed the Prah on the 5th, and marched three miles towards Coomassie. Major Russell's native regiment preceded the brigade, and encamped at Essiaman, thirteen miles north of the Prah. A messenger returned to the King on the 5th, passing our advanced guards. Sir Garnet's staff and the troops are healthy and in good spirits. Quisah, on a hill north of the Adansie Hill, and about half way from Coomassie and the Prah, is to be occupied on the 18th inst. The *Western Morning News* correspondent sends by a returning troopship an interesting letter from Cape Coast Castle, dated January 10. The eleven am-

bassadors who crossed the Prah to endeavour to make peace, stated that King Coffee had no wish to make war on the white men, and would have long since sent to stop it, but that the general in command of his army had sent back repeated messages saying that he had defeated the white troops, and was only falling back because the smallpox prevailed among the English to such an extent that he feared his army would catch it. The ambassadors were told, through Colonel Graves, that Sir Garnet Wolseley would only negotiate at Coomassie, or at least only with the King personally. The ambassadors were then shown some Gatling gun exercise, which so frightened and astonished them that one of them committed suicide. The great deficiency was want of carriers, which had become very serious, and as the Fantee bearers had all escaped into the bush rather than cross the Prah, Kroomen from Sierra Leone had to be relied on, and they were very scarce. The desertion of the Fantee bearers had placed the left of the Welch Fusiliers in serious difficulties, and the Fusiliers right wing and the Marines could not proceed into the interior owing to the same cause. The Naval Brigade and Highlanders were well on their way to Coomassie, having advanced several miles across the Prah. Their health was good, although erysipelas had been prevalent. Captain Glover was much harassed by natives on his flanks, and assistance had been sent to him. He had, however, beaten the natives in several skirmishes.

#### Epitome of News.

On Monday a Privy Council was held at Osborne for pricking the list of sheriffs. Lord Aberdeen, Mr. Lowe, and the Earl of Kimberley were present. Lord Monson and Sir Samuel Martin were introduced and sworn of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and took their seats at the board accordingly.

It is understood that the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh will land at Gravesend. The marriage festivities at St. Petersburg will continue until the middle of this week, and will then be resumed at Moscow. The Court will return to St. Petersburg on Sunday next. It is said the amount of dowry which the Grand Duchess will bring with her on her marriage will be half a million of roubles (about 75,000l.), and the annuity, consisting of the interest of one million roubles additional (150,000l.). In round figures, therefore, the income she will bring with her to this country will not be more than 90,000l. per annum.

Baron Meyer de Rothschild, of Mentmore Park, Bucks, who formerly represented Sandwich in the House of Commons, is reported to be sinking fast.

It is understood that the Right Hon. Andrew Lusk, the Lord Mayor of London, will receive the honour of a baronetcy on the arrival in England of the Duke of Edinburgh and his bride.

A short pastoral letter from Archbishop Manning upon the subject of the Roman Catholics in Germany was read in the Roman Catholic churches and chapels on Sunday. Referring to the recent meetings held in St. James's and Exeter Halls, he says that in this free land Protestants had a full right to approve, if they pleased, of violations of conscience, and persecutions by fine and imprisonment. On Friday evening next, Dr. Manning says, a meeting of the Catholics of England will be held in St. James's Hall, "to condemn these doctrines of persecution, so fatal to the right of conscience and to the civil and religious peace of our country." The Duke of Norfolk is expected to preside.

The great Mathematical Tripos Honour List was published in the Senate House at Cambridge on Friday morning. Mr. G. C. Calliphronas, of Gonville and Caius, the son of a Norfolk clergyman, comes out as Senior Wrangler.

The Rev. Canon Kingsley has sailed for New York.

Several of the principal colliery owners of Yorkshire have made reductions in house coal varying from 2s. to 3s. 4d. per ton. Slack has also been reduced to the extent of 2s. 2d. In London the market is firmer.

The Court of Common Pleas decided on Tuesday that an election petition falls to the ground on the dissolution of Parliament.

After speaking ten days Mr. Hawkins concluded his speech for the prosecution of the Claimant on Wednesday. The Lord Chief Justice commenced the summing-up on Thursday, and has not yet concluded. He quotes copiously from the correspondence to show that Roger was a very different and more reputable person than represented by Dr. Kenealy, upon whose licence of speech he was very severe.

**NONCONFORMIST SUCCESSSES AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.**—In the list of wranglers published on Friday last, there are several Nonconformists who have taken high positions. The third place falls to Mr. J. R. Harris, of Clare College, who is, we believe, a Congregationalist. Mr. Craik, who is fourth, is a Scotch Presbyterian. Mr. Cox, who is bracketed eighth, is a Baptist. He is expected also to stand well in the classical tripos, which comes off this month. In addition to these Mr. Barnard, who is bracketed twelfth, is a Baptist; and one of his companions in that place is Mr. Lightwood, a Wesleyan. This result is certainly remarkable, considering the vast preponderance of professing Churchmen who come up; and it would be more remarkable still, if a condition of complete religious equality enabled sensitive men to be true to the principles in which they were trained.



## Literature.

CHARLES DICKENS.\*

In one respect this is the most interesting portion of the Life of our great novelist, but the interest is not of a kind to gratify general curiosity so much as was the case with the first volume. Here, of course, we have anecdote, humour, bright picturesque bits of sketching; but the whole is, to use the language of one of our poets, too consciously "dipt in hues of heart." There is a sadness, sense of weariness, depression under the power of circumstances and questioning of the mysteries of life, imparting a sort of grayness to the work; and this comes out in all the stronger relief by contrast with the occasional outbreaks of the old fun, when we see the writer all too suddenly pulling himself up, and with a sigh, sorrowfully recalling the brightness "of the old days." It is true that this is of necessity, in some measure, the case with every biography that is worth the reading. The "years that bring the philosopher's mind" come in due course with their gentle suggestions and pathetic sense of unrealised aspiration—teaching patience and quiet fortitude to all of us as we read; but here, in midst of an uninterrupted course of worldly success, it does seem surprising that ere middle-age, the "fine lights" had so far "faded from the hills of life," and existence was so sorely burdened. That Charles Dickens was a quick, sensitive, most impressionable mind we all knew; but that it was grounded on such a stratum of earnestness we hardly believed till we had read through this volume—which, considering the honest expression we have in it of this side of his character, is perhaps just a little marred by the readiness with which Mr. Forster dashes aside now and then to assail critics and to retort upon them rather bitterly.

But though we have thought it right thus to indicate at the outset the peculiar psychological interest that may be found in watchfully following the mood of Mr. Dickens' mind in these last few years of his life, the volume is far from being deficient in incident and objective interests. For one thing, and perhaps it was a happy thing for him, he needed the excitements of physical change and movement, and by their aid found diversion from thoughts that else might have proved prostrating.

"I have always felt of myself," he says in 1857, "that I must, please God, die in harness. . . . However strange it is never to be at rest, and never satisfied, and ever trying after something that is never reached, and to be always laden with plot and plan, and care and worry; how clear it is that it must be, and that one is driven by an irresistible might until the journey is worked out! It is much better to go on and fret than to stop and fret. As for repose, for some men there's no such thing in this life. The foregoing has the appearance of a small sermon; but it is so often in my head in these days that it cannot help coming out. The old days—the old days! Shall I ever, I wonder, get the frame of mind back as it used to be then? something of it perhaps—but never quite as it used to be. I find that the skeleton in my domestic closet is becoming a pretty big one."

Mr. Forster informs us that—

"It was during the composition of 'Little Dorrit' that I think he first felt a certain strain upon his invention which brought with it other misgivings. In a modified form this was present during the later portions of 'Bleak House,' of which not a few of the defects might be traced to the acting excitements amid which it was written; but the succeeding book made it plainer to him; and it is remarkable that in the interval between them he resorted for the first and only time in his life to a practice, which he abandoned at the close of his next and last story published in the twenty-number form, of putting down written memoranda of suggestions for characters or incidents by way of resource to him in his writing. Never before had his teeming fancy seemed to want such a help; the need being less to contribute to its fulness than to check its overrunning; but it is another proof that he had been secretly bringing before himself, at least, the possibility that what had ever been his great support might some day desert him. It was strange that he should have had such a doubt, and he would hardly have confessed it openly; but apart from that wonderful world of his books, the range of his thoughts was not always proportioned to the width and largeness of his nature."

And so, though he tried to face all his difficulties frankly, and not to shirk them and put them from him, his view of the world was so coloured by the impressions derived from things near at hand, that change was imperative; and in these later years, a certain unsettledness is sadly noticeable. After "David Copperfield" had made its wide impression, "Bleak House" elaborated with more than usual labour, and "Hard Times" started in *Household Words*, he revisited Italy and Switzerland—recording, with all his keenness of observation and exactitude of characterisation—of the people of the Swiss valleys that "all the women were like used up men, and all the men like a sort of fagged dogs."

\* *The Life of Charles Dickens*. By JOHN FORSTER. Volume the Third. 1852-70. (Chapman and Hall.)

—spending the summers at Boulogne. Then he resided for a time in Paris, where he was entertained and made much of by the artists and men of letters; then a winter in London, when the amateur theatricals were revived, but hardly with the glee of old days. Gadshill Place had been bought by this time, by-and-bye his wife separated from him, and "Little Dorrit" began to make its appearance.

"He could no longer fill a wide-spread canvas with the same facility and certainty as of old; and he had frequently a quite unfounded apprehension of some possible break-down, of which the end might be at any moment beginning. There came accordingly, from time to time, intervals of unusual impatience and restlessness, strange to me in connection with his home; his old pursuits were too often laid aside for other excitements and occupations; he joined a public political agitation, set on foot by administrative reformers; he got up various quasi-public private theatricals, in which he took the leading place; and though it was but part of his always generous devotion in any friendly duty to organise the series of performances on his friend Jerrold's death, yet the eagerness with which he flung himself into them, so arranging them as to assume an amount of labour in acting and travelling that might have appalled an experienced comedian, and carrying them on week after week unceasingly in London and the provinces, expressed but the craving which still had possession of him to get by some means at some change that should make existence easier. What was highest in his nature had ceased for the time to be highest in his life, and he had put himself at the mercy of lower accidents and conditions. The mere effect of the strolling wandering ways into which this acting led him could not be other than unfavourable. But remonstrance as yet was unavailing."

"If I couldn't walk fast and far," he himself says about this time, "I should just explode and perish. Restlessness, you will say, what—ever it is, it is always driving me, and I cannot help it."

It is a noticeable circumstance that his efforts—so beneficial every way—in behalf of the Children's Hospital in Great Ormond-street, should have come so close on certain domestic changes. One of the most perfect and most touching things we have ever read, is his first speech on its behalf, which is given here at length—as it well deserves. His success in readings for that institution determined him, against some opposition from friends, to undertake a series of readings in London and the provinces. Varied by the composition of the "Uncommercial Traveller," a considerable period, was spent in this way. These readings proved, of course, an immense success, and extended over a much longer period than he anticipated when he began them; then, in a short interlude, he commenced the composition of "Great Expectations"—in which he added to his already vast gallery of characters, the typical "Pip" and "Magwitch" and "Jaggers." Then came "Our Mutual Friend" and "Doctor Marigold," which was being published when its author sailed for America to give the readings there. He remained in America till May of 1868, and on his return gave a few more readings in England and in Scotland; and in 1869 began the publication of "Edwin Drood," in monthly parts—which alas! he never lived to finish.

Dickens, there can be no doubt, had as lively imagination as any English author has ever been gifted with. It were easy to cavil and to say that he dealt too much with external traits, and out of them built up mere oddities, caricatures. This may apply in some degree to a certain class of his characters—to the Carkers, the Quilps, the Skimpoles. But we have others that quietly lay hold of our minds and make for themselves abiding homes there—the Kate Nickleby's, the Ruths, the Peggotys. Sometimes the oddity but emphasises the real depth of the conception, and gives flavour to it. Often perhaps he used his characters too much as mere puppets in the service of his plot, as witness Lady Dedlock for one; but this is a tendency to which novelists as a body are too prone, to enable us to point the charge specially against Dickens. He may claim to have always endeavoured to find something rare, pure, and beautiful which these were but employed to bring out more clearly into relief; and so he is always innocent, elevating, delightfully domestic. There is no *arrière pensée*, no *double entendre*, in Dickens, no sly suggestion of possible impurity, no playing with mixed motives. He is, in this regard, thorough English, and clear and wholesome. As a humourist, ever tempted by the very fact of finding the source of his inspirations in the disparities of life, to draw aid from doubtful or even filthy aspects of character, he acted with great self-restraint; and in this deserves praise which we must deny to Fielding and Sterne, and indeed cannot accord to the same measure to any other as to him.

As a man, we think more lightly of him after reading this third volume. He was upright, kindly, and bore his burdens with a quiet bravery. And, if often on practical matters he inclined to be over-decided in holding to his

own view in face of practical disproof, he was tolerant of others in private life, and his sympathies were easily moved to express themselves in practical help. What could be more readily illustrative of this than the following:—

"An incident before his return to France is worth brief relation. He had sallied out for one of his night walks, full of thoughts of his story, one wintry rainy evening (the 8th of November), and 'pulled himself up,' outside the door of Whitechapel Workhouse, at a strange sight which arrested him there. Against the dreary enclosure of the house were leaning, in the midst of the downpouring rain and storm, what seemed to be seven heaps of rags: 'dumb, wet, silent horrors,' he described them, 'sphinxes set up against that dead wall, and no one likely to be at the pains of solving them until the General Overthrow.' He sent in his card to the master. Against him there was no ground of complaint; he gave prompt personal attention; but the casual ward was full, and there was no help. The rag-heaps were all girls, and Dickens gave each a shilling. One girl, 'twenty or so,' had been without food a day and night. 'Look at me,' she said, as she clutched the shilling, and without thanks shuffled off. So with the rest. There was not a single 'thank you.' A crowd meanwhile, only less poor than these objects of misery, had gathered round the scene; but though they saw the seven shillings given away they asked for no relief to themselves, they recognised in their aid wild way the other's greater wretchedness, and made room in silence for Dickens to walk on."

Towards his children he seems to have been kind and indulgent, but with rule derived from right good sense; and a mixture of seriousness which was never obtruded gave force to his precepts. His advice to his son going out into the world strikes us as so fine in spirit, so lofty in morality, and written with such exquisite simplicity, that we must try and find room for it:—

"I write this note to-day because your going away is much upon my mind, and because I want you to have a few parting words from me, to think of now and then at quiet times. I need not tell you that I love you dearly, and am very, very sorry in my heart to part with you. But this life is half made up of partings, and these pains must be borne. It is my comfort and my sincere conviction that you are going to try the life for which you are best fitted. I think its freedom and wildness more suited to you than any experiment in a study or office would have been; and without that training you could have followed no other suitable occupation. What you have always wanted until now has been a set, steady, constant purpose. I therefore exhort you to persevere in a thorough determination to do whatever you have to do, as well as you can do it. I was not so old as you are now when I first had to win my food, and to do it out of this determination; and I have never slackened in it since. Never take a mean advantage of any one in any transaction, and never be hard upon people who are in your power. Try to do to others as you would have them do to you, and do not be discouraged if they fail sometimes. It is much better for you that they should fail in obeying the greatest rule laid down by our Saviour than that you should. I put a New Testament among your books for the very same reasons, and with the very same hopes, that made me write an easy account of it for you when you were a little child. Because it is the best book that ever was, or will be, known in the world; and because it teaches you the best lessons by which any human creature, who tries to be truthful and faithful to duty, can possibly be guided. As your brothers have gone away, one by one, I have written to each such words as I am now writing to you, and have entreated them all to guide themselves by this book, putting aside the interpretations and inventions of man. You will remember that you have never at home been harassed about religious observances or mere formalities. I have always been anxious not to weary my children with such things before they are old enough to form opinions respecting them. You will therefore understand the better that I now most solemnly impress upon you the truth and beauty of the Christian religion, as it came from Christ Himself, and the impossibility of your going far wrong if you humbly but heartily respect it. Only one thing more on this head. The more we are in earnest as to feeling it, the less we are disposed to hold forth about it. Never abandon the wholesome practice of saying your own private prayers, night and morning. I have never abandoned it myself, and I know the comfort of it. I hope you will always be able to say in after life that you had a kind father. You cannot show your affection for him so well, or make him so happy, as by doing your duty."

Mr. Forster, we think, is right in not justifying the outrage on Leigh Hunt in Skimpole; the effort needed to tone it down should have been enough to condemn it and to cause the complete cutting out of the character. As Dickens was even then on good terms with Leigh Hunt, and as Skimpole, acknowledgedly drawn from him, does not present a single noble attribute, we have here, it seems to us, the one instance of real meanness on the part of (in many respects) a really great mind and character.

## THE LATE DR. LIVINGSTONE.

Sir Bartle Frere, speaking at a meeting of the African section of the Society of Arts on Friday, said that the news of the death of Dr. Livingstone was founded upon such evidence as left us no grounds for hope. Sir Bartle Frere dwelt on the loss the world had sustained by the death of Livingstone, who, he said, was intellectually and morally as perfect a man as it had ever been his privilege to meet. Sir Samuel Baker said that whatever slight services he might have rendered to Africa were a mere nothing compared with what had been done by Dr. Livingstone. The greatest possible proof of the enormous



power Livingstone must have exercised over the Africans was the fact that his people were carrying the body home. He (Sir Samuel) never knew an African willing to carry a white man alive, and it was the very greatest possible proof of their love and devotion that these men, without hope of reward, were sadly and sorrowfully carrying their master home. The Rev. Horace Waller strongly urged the advisability of bringing over to England Dr. Livingstone's faithful body-servant, Tumah, whose service dated from his boyhood, when Dr. Livingstone sent him to school at Bombay, and who would be able to furnish many valuable and interesting particulars of his master's life and travels.

The following extract from Mr. Stanley's book "How I Found Livingstone," descriptive of the farewell interview between the great traveller and the author, will be read with interest:—

At dawn we were up, the bales and baggage were taken outside of the building, and the men prepared themselves for the first march towards home.

We had a sad breakfast together. I could not eat; my heart was too full; neither did my companion seem to have an appetite. We found something to do which kept us longer together. At eight o'clock I was not gone, and I had thought to have been off at five a.m.

"Doctor," said I, "I will leave two men with you, who will stop to-day and to-morrow with you, for it may be that you have forgotten something in the hurry of my departure. I will halt a day at Tura, on the frontier of Unyamwezi, for your last word, and your last wish; and now we must part—there is no help for it. Good-bye."

"Oh, I am coming with you a little way. I must see you off on the road."

"Thank you. Now, my men, home! Kirangozi, lift the flag and march!"

The house looked desolate—it faded from our view. Old times, and the memories of my aspirations and kindling hopes, came strong on me. The old hills round about, that I once thought tame and uninteresting, had become invested with histories and reminiscences for me. On that burzani I have sat hour after hour, dreaming, and hoping, and sighing. On that cool I stood, watching the battle and the destruction of Tabora. Under that roof I have sickened and been delirious, and cried out like a child at the fate that threatened my mission. Under that banian tree lay my dead comrade—poor Shaw! I would have given a fortune to have had him by my side at this time. From that house I started on my journey to Ujiji; to it I returned as to a friend, with a newer and dearer companion; and now I leave all. Already it all appears like a strange dream.

We walked side by side; the men lifted their voices in a song. I took long looks at Livingstone, to impress his features thoroughly on my memory.

"The thing is, Doctor, so far as I can understand it, you do not intend to return home until you have satisfied yourself about the 'Sources of the Nile.' When you have satisfied yourself you will come home and satisfy others. Is it not so?"

"That is it, exactly. When your men come back, I shall immediately start for Ujiji; then, crossing the Rungwa river, I shall strike south, and round the extremity of the Tanganika. Then, a south-east course will take me to Chiumbi's, on the Luapula. On crossing the Luapula, I shall go direct west to the copper-mines of Katanga. Eight days south of Katanga, the natives declare the fountains to be. When I have found them I shall return by Katanga to the underground houses of Rua. From the caverns, ten days north-east will take me to Lake Kamolondo. I shall be able to travel from the lake, in your boat, up the Infira to Lake Lincoln. Then, coming down again, I shall proceed north by the Lualaba, to the fourth lake—which, I think, will explain the whole problem; and I will probably find that it is either Chowambe (Baker's lake), or Piaggia's lake."

"And how long do you think this little journey will take you?"

"A year and a half, at the furthest, from the day I leave Unyamwezi."

"Suppose you say two years; contingencies might arise, you know. It will be well for me to hire these new men for two years; the day of their engagement to begin from their arrival at Unyamwezi."

"Yes, that will do excellently well."

"Now, my dear doctor, the best friends must part. You have come far enough; let me beg of you to turn back."

"Well, I will say this to you; you have done what few men could do—far better than some great travellers I know. And I am grateful to you for what you have done for me. God guide you safe home, and bless you, my friend."

"And may God bring you safe back to us all, my dear friend. Farewell!"

"Farewell!"

We wrung each other's hands, and I had to tear myself away before I unmanned myself; but Susi, and Chumah, and Hamoydah, the Doctor's faithful fellows, they must all shake and kiss my hands before I could quite turn away. I betrayed myself!

"Good-bye, Doctor, dear friend!"

"Good-bye!"

"March! Why do you stop? Go on! Are you not going home?" And my people were driven before me. No more weakness. I shall show them such marching as will make them remember me. In forty days I shall do what took me three months to perform before.

My friendly reader, I wrote the above extracts in my diary on the evening of each day. I look at them now after six months have passed away; yet I am not ashamed of them; my eyes feel somewhat dimmed at the recollection of the parting. I dared not erase nor modify what I had penned while my feelings were strong. God grant that if ever you take to travelling in Africa you will get as noble and true a man for your companion as David Livingstone! For four months and four days I lived with him in the same house, or in the same boat, or in the same tent, and I never found a fault in him. I am a man of a quick temper, and often without sufficient cause, I dare say, have broken ties of friendship; but with Livingstone I never had cause for resentment, but each day's life with him added to my admiration for him.

## Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

A uniform charge of One Shilling (prepaid) is made for announcements under this heading, for which postage-stamps will be received. All such announcements must be authenticated by the name and address of the sender.]

### MARRIAGES.

GUMMER—DRYSDALE.—On Dec. 9, 1873, at the Calabar College, Kingston, Jamaica, by the Rev. J. D. East, the Rev. John Edgell Gummer, late of Bristol, to Margaret, second daughter of R. P. Drysdale, Esq., of Georgetown, Demerara.

FOTHERGILL—HAMER.—On Jan. 27, at the Congregational Church, Wavertree, by the Rev. D. Jones Hamer, cousin of the bride, and the Rev. W. H. Fothergill, brother of the bridegroom, Mr. James Fothergill, of Birkenhead, to Ellen, daughter of the late Rev. James Hamer, of Barrow-in-Furness.

### DEATHS.

MUIR.—On Jan. 19, at the United Presbyterian Manse, Newtyle by Dundee, the Rev. John Muir, in his 67th year.

MATHEWS.—On Jan. 21, after a few hours' suffering from a railway accident, Mr. George Mathews, of Levenshulme, near Manchester, aged 65. The deceased was interred in Ardwick Cemetery, and was followed to the grave by a vast concourse of people, including 300 scholars of the Sunday-school of which he was for many years superintendent, connected with West Gorton Chapel, Manchester.

NICHOLS.—On Jan. 29, after a short illness, Frances Ann, second daughter of Mr. Joseph Nichols, leather merchant, Linton, Cambs., aged 20.

## FUNERAL REFORM.

The LONDON NECROPOLIS COMPANY conducts Funerals with simplicity, and with great economy. Prospectus free.—Chief Office, 2, Lancaster-place, Strand, W.C.

BREAKFAST.—EPPE'S COCOA.—GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING.—By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected cocoa, Mr. Eppe has provided our breakfast tables with a delicately flavoured beverage which may save us many heavy doctors' bills.—Civil Service Gazette. Made simply with Boiling Water or Milk. Each packet is labelled—"JAMES EPPE & Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, London."

VALETUDO VISQUEE LIBERIS.—A preparation known as Dr. Ridge's Patent (cooked) Food is excellent for infants and invalids. It will be found a very useful preparation for making custards, puddings, and similar preparations for the nursery and sick room.—Extract from "Casell's Household Guide." Supplied by most chemists and grocers in 1s. packets and 2s. 6d. tins.—Manufactory, Bermondsey, London.

MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.—Parents valuing their children's safety will avoid soothing medicines containing opium, so frequently fatal to infants, and will use only "Stedman's Teething Powders," which are the safest and best, being free from opium. Prepared by a surgeon (not a chemist) having special experience in children's diseases, whose name, "Stedman," has but one "e" in it. Trade mark, a Gum Lancet. Refuse all others. Also Materfamilias Pills, a tasteless and efficient substitute for Castor Oil. Price 2s. 3d. per box. Depot—East-road, Hoxton, London, N.

The Rev. JOHN RATTENBURY writes, April 5, 1872:—"I have no hesitation in declaring that Turner's Tamarind Emulsion soothes and removes bronchial irritation and gives strength and tone to the voice." Oct. 8, 1872, the Rev. O. C. Harvard writes: "We always keep the Tamarind Emulsion in our house; it is an excellent thing for hoarseness, and clears the voice most effectually." 13d. and 2s. 9d. per bottle. Sold at 4, Cheapside; 150, Oxford-street, W.; and all leading chemists in the kingdom.

JUDSON'S SIMPLE DYES are exceedingly useful household commodities. The process is simple, and result satisfactory, as applied to woollen and silk articles. Shetland shawls or cloths that have become yellow are good subjects for young baginness in the art of dyeing. A basin of water only required; time, five minutes! Judson's Dyes, 6d. per bottle, eighteen colours, of all Chemists and Stationers.

THOUSANDS ARE WRETHED UNDER DISEASE they know not how to conquer, who might be cured by these remedies without much trouble. If the first symptoms receive attention and judicious treatment, not only will future danger be averted, but old ailments will give way and better health will be attained than was enjoyed before the illness. No treatment for safety and certainty of success may be so confidently relied upon as that discovered by Professor Holloway, whose Pills and Ointment always restore the sufferer. While the Pills are taken in moderate doses, the Ointment should be well rubbed upon the skin, near the part affected, as actively as salt is forced into meat.

## Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, Feb. 2.

The fresh arrivals of English grain are only moderate. We had a quiet market this morning, and prices of English wheat quoted on Monday last were barely supported. Sales of foreign wheat proceed slowly, and foreign wheat, ex-ship, sold at a reduction of 1s. per qr. on the week. The flour trade was inactive, at former quotations. Peas supported last week's prices. Beans were 1s. per qr. lower. Barley was firm. Indian corn was without advance on last week's rates. Oats, with liberal arrivals, met a good demand, maintained last Monday's prices. Cargoes on the coast meet more demand, and the sales, at 1s. per qr. decline. Maize and barley unaltered.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, Feb. 2.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 5,376 head. In the corresponding week last year we received 8,551; in 1872, 6,018; in 1871, 2,182; and in 1870, 6,456 head. Nothing of importance has transpired in the cattle trade to-day. The supplies of stock have been about an average, and sufficient for the demand. As regards beasts, only a moderate supply has been received from our own grazing districts. Sales progressed quietly. The best Scots and crosses have changed hands at 6s. to 6s. 2d. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we have received about 1,250; from Lincoln, 40; from Devon, about 100; from other parts of England, about 500; from Scotland, 170; and from Ireland, 56 head. The foreign side of the market has not been heavily supplied. There have been about 600 Dutch and 212 from Corunna. The market has been firm. The show of sheep has been

moderate, the trade has been quiet. Prime small Downes have made 7s. per 8 lbs., but the best heavy sheep have not made more than 6s. 8d. per 8lbs. For calves a moderate inquiry has prevailed at late quotations. Pigs have been inactive on former terms.

Per 8lbs., to sink the offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inf. coarse beasts	4	8	5	0	Pr. coarse woolled	6	6	8	0
Second quality	5	0	5	4	Prime Southdown	6	8	7	0
Prime large oxen	5	8	5	10	Large coarse calves	5	8	6	0
Prime Scots	6	0	6	2	Prime small	6	6	6	10
Coarse inf. sheep	5	0	5	6	Large hogs	3	8	3	10
Second quality	5	8	6	0	Neat sm. porkers	4	0	4	8

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, Feb. 2.—A moderate supply of meat was on sale here to-day. The demand was less animated, at about late prices.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

By the Carcase.				By the Carcase.					
	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior beef	3	4	4	0	Inferior Mutton	3	8	4	4
Middling do.	4	2	4	8	Middling do.	4	4	5	0
Prime large do.	5	0	5	4	Prime do.	5	2	5	6
Prime small do.	5	2	5	6	Large pork	3	8	4	4
Veal	5	0	5	8	Small do.	4	8	5	6

PROVISIONS, Monday, Feb. 2.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 361 firkins butter, and 2,836 bales bacon, and from foreign ports, 28,020 packages butter, 1,296 bales and 461 boxes bacon. In the butter market there is little change to notice during the week, with the exception of the best Dutch, which advanced to 142s. to 146s. The bacon market was active, and prices advanced 2s. per cwt.

COVENT GARDEN, Thursday, Jan. 29.—We have no new feature of importance to notice. A quiet business doing.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, Feb. 2.—The business transacted continues to be limited; the small demand is supplied by the few holders who are inclined to sell at a few shillings below the nominal values. The proportion of cheap hops has increased during the past week, but many of the planters at present intend to hold until the spring. No demand prevails for yearlings and olds. Mid and East Kent, 5l. 12s., 6l. 80s., 8l. 8s.; Weald of Kent, 4l. 18s., 5l. 10s., 5l. 15s.; Sussex, 4l. 13s., 5l. 12s.; Farnham and Country, 5l. 12s., 6l. 10s., 7l. 10s.; Farnham, 7l. 0s., 8l. 0s.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, Feb. 2.—Rather less extensive supplies of potatoes are on sale at these markets, but there is still a moderate show of foreign produce. There is a steady demand for most descriptions, and prices rule firm as follows:—Regents, 110s. to 125s. per ton; Rocks, 70s. to 80s. per ton; Victorias, 110s. to 120s. per ton; Flukes, 120s. to 140s. per ton.

SEED, Monday, Feb. 2.—Fine English red cloverseed comes out slowly, and medium samples brought but low rates. In most descriptions of seed a tolerably good business was doing.

OIL, Monday, Feb. 2.—Linseed oil has commanded a moderate amount of attention at about late quotations. For rape the demand has been heavy. Other oils have been quiet.

TALLOW, Monday, Feb. 2.—P.Y.C. is in limited request, at 40s. per cwt. on the spot. Town tallow is quoted at 39s. 6d. per cwt net cash. Rough fat has declined to 1s. 11d. per 8lbs.

COAL, Monday, Feb. 2.—There was a large supply of house coal, and more demand. Huttons, 25s.; Hartons, 23s. 6d.; Hetton Lyons, 23s. 3d. Ships for sale, 66; at sea, 10.

## Advertisements.

Patronised by the CROWN PRINCESS of PRUSSIA the SULTAN of TURKEY, and the NAWAB NAZIM of BENGAL.

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From £2 2s. to £25.

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TO ORGANISTS.—WANTED, for the BLACKHEATH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, an ORGANIST, who will be required to attend two services on Sunday, also a Meeting and Singing-class on Monday evenings. Apply by letter only, with particulars of age, qualifications, references, and of Salary expected, to A., care of W. G. Lemon, Esq., Blackheath, S.E.

MAY AND OTHER MEETINGS.—TO RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES, Etc. The large LECTURE HALL of the Birkbeck Library and Scientific Institution, situated in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, CAN BE ENGAGED for Meetings held during the day. Terms, 3 gs. Application to be made to the Manager or Secretary.

ROTHBURY HOUSE COLLEGE SCHOOL, STROUD GREEN, PINSBURY PARK, N. (G. N. R.).

The course of instruction embraces a sound Commercial Education, Classics, Modern Languages under native Professors. Situation healthy. Separate beds. Prospectuses and references forwarded.

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French taught by a resident Parisian Lady.  
SCHOOL REOPENED ON WEDNESDAY, Jan. 21.

**RYEWORTH HOUSE LADIES' COLLEGE**, LONDON-ROAD, CHELTENHAM.

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The Misses MAKEPEACE and the Rev. J. MAKEPEACE. References: J. Barran, Esq., ex-Mayor of Leeds, Chapel Allerton Hall, near Leeds; Alfred Illingworth, Esq., M.P., Bradford, Yorkshire; Rev. A. Morton Brown, LL.D., Cheltenham; Rev. Alexander McLaren, B.A., Manchester; Rev. Charles Vince, Birmingham, &c., &c.

THE COLLEGE REOPENED THURSDAY, Jan. 22, 1874

**MILL HILL SCHOOL**, MIDDLESEX.

HEAD MASTER—

RICHARD F. WEYMOUTH, Esq., D. Lit. and M.A., Fellow of Univ. Coll., Lond.; Member of the Council of the Philological Society, &c., &c.

VICE-MASTER—

Rev. ROBERT HARLEY, F.R.S., F.R.A.S., Corresponding Member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, Member of the London Mathematical Society, formerly Professor of Mathematics and Logic in Airedale College, Bradford, &c.

ASSISTANT MASTERS—

A. H. SCOTT WHITE, Esq., B.A., Prizeman in Anglo-Saxon and Early English of Univ. Coll., London.

JAMES H. MURRAY, Esq., B.A., F.E.L.S., Member of the Council of the Philological Society, one of the Editors of the Publications of the Early English Text Society, Author of "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," &c., &c.

JAMES NETTLESHIP, Esq., B.A., Scholar and Prizeman of Christ's Coll., Camb.; 2nd Class Classical Tripos, 1866.

G. EMERY, Esq., B.A.

LADY RESIDENT—Miss COOKE.

LENT TERM commenced 22nd January, 1874.

For Prospectuses and further information, apply to the Head Master, at the School, or to the Secretary, the Rev. R. H. MARTEN, B.A., Lee, S.E.

**STROUD LADIES' COLLEGE**, BEROCHES' GREEN, STROUD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Principals—The Misses HOWARD.

FIRST TERM, 1874, began THURSDAY, January 22nd.

**TETTENHALL COLLEGE**, STAFFORDSHIRE.

HEAD MASTER.

ALEXANDER WAUGH YOUNG, Esq., M.A. Lond. (Gold Medalist in Classics); late Andrews Scholar, and First Prizeman in Higher Senior Mathematics, of University College, London; Fellow of University College, London.

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H. C. BATTERBURY, Esq., B.A., Mathematical Scholar and Prizeman of St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

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The Committee of the above School have pleasure in announcing that a new building has just been erected capable of accommodating one hundred Pupils, and specially adapted to secure their domestic comfort.

The course of instruction includes all branches of a sound Classical, Mathematical, and Commercial Education, so as to fit the Pupils for any department of business, or for entrance at the Universities.

THE SCHOOL REOPENED ON TUESDAY, the 27th of January, 1874.

Applications for admission to be sent to the Principal.

For Prospectuses, Terms, and further information, apply to a Principal or Secretary.

#### SPECIAL NOTICE.

**BRITISH EMPIRE MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY**, 32, NEW BRIDGE-STREET, LONDON, E.C.

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	From 18th Annual Report	Excess over
No.	Amt.	17th year.
New Policies, 2,190,000	£380,050	11,815
Premiums received	96,451	£4,917
Claims and Bonuses paid, 193 for	31,407	764
Laid in Year	41,043	4,736

Accumulated Fund 314,116

In Force, 18,084 Policies, for 3,109,215

Annual Premium Income 97,402

Average Reversionary Bonus, 18 years, £1 1/4 per cent. per ann.

The Report was adopted. Messrs. G. T. Dale and Henry Olney re-elected Directors, and Mr. Charles Brown and Mr. James Clarke, of the "Christian World," Auditors.

May, 1873.

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PAID-UP CAPITAL AND RESERVE FUND, £140,000.

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#### THE GENERAL ELECTION.

TOTAL REPEAL OF THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS.—If you value the progress of religion and morality and the first principles of justice and equality before the law, you will use every legal effort in the coming election to secure the return of those candidates who will pledge themselves to vote for the total and immediate repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

Information as to the opinions of all the Members of the late Parliament who have voted on this subject, also explanatory and statistical pamphlets, contradicting the official returns and explaining the nature of the Acts, can be had of the following Secretaries of Repeal Associations. Telegraphic inquiries immediately answered, &c., by

The National Association.—Central Offices, 27, Great George-street, Westminster, S.W. Secretary—Frederick Charles Banks.

The Ladies' National Association.—Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Butler, 280, South-hill, Park-road, Liverpool.

The Northern Counties' League.—Hon. Sec.—Henry J. Wilson, No. 255, Pitsmoor, Sheffield.

The Midland Counties' Electoral Union.—Chief Office, 4, Broad-street-corner, Birmingham. Samuel J. Ainge, Secretary.

Friends' Association for Abolishing the State Regulation of Vice.—Hon. Secs.—Joseph Edmondson, Halifax; Arthur J. Naish, Birmingham; George Gillett, London; Barton Dell, Bristol.

The North-Eastern Association.—Secretary—Rev. R. E. Hoopell, LL.D., South Shields.

The Scottish National Association.—Chief Office, 5, St. Andrew's-square, Edinburgh. Hon. Sec.—Stephen Wellstood.

The Edinburgh Ladies' Committee.—Secretary—Miss Wigham, No. 5, Gray-street.

The Glasgow Ladies' Committee.—Secretary—Mrs. McLaren, No. 43, Buccleugh-street.

The Dublin Branch of the National Association.—Hon. Sec.—J. T. Wesley, 18, Grantham-street, Dublin.

The Cork Branch of the National and Ladies' National.—Gentlemen's Committee—Secretary, Scott Anderson, 5, Faulkner's-lane, Cork. Ladies' Committee.—Secretary, Elizabeth Addey, 69, Patrick-street, Cork.

The Belfast Branch of the National and Ladies' National Associations.—Gentlemen's Committee.—Secretary, Rev. Charles Seaver, No. 16, Botanic-avenue, Belfast. Ladies' Committee.—Secretary, Miss Tod, 8, Claremont-street, Belfast.

TO THE ELECTORS OF SOUTH ESSEX.

GENTLEMEN,—

Her Majesty having graciously summoned a new Parliament, I venture again to offer my services as your Representative.

Should you see fit to accept them, a Liberal administration under Mr. Gladstone would receive my independent but hearty support. On the other hand, I am sensible that the task of carrying on the affairs of this vast Empire increases daily in difficulty, and I would be no party to any factious opposition should a Conservative Ministry be in office.

I am opposed to every attempt to dismember the Empire, whether in Ireland or the Colonies.

A lover of peace, and preferring in every case arbitration to war, I desire to see our armaments kept up in full efficiency, so that when duty requires we may be able to strike and strike hard.

As most of you know already, I desire—

The equalisation of the County and Borough Franchise,

A large Redistribution of Seats,

A restriction within the narrowest limits of Settlements and Entails of Land, and

A well-devised measure for securing to tenants compensation for unexhausted improvements.

The 26th Section of the Education Act, 1870, has attracted much attention. What little practical use it ever had has been almost entirely superseded by the Act of 1873. It has given grave offence to a large number of earnest educationists, and thereby hindered educational work. I am in favour of its repeal.

I have always advocated the reduction of Local Taxation by such a transfer of its burdens as shall not lead to further centralisation, or impair the efficiency of Local Management and Control.

I rejoice that during twenty years (with brief intervals) of Mr. Gladstone's management our Finances have attained an unexampled height of prosperity, and that we have a near prospect of getting rid of the Income-tax.

My opinions on other branches of the great subject of Taxation are well known to you. These and other political questions I shall have opportunities of discussing with you in the course of my canvass.

As to myself, I only claim to have served the Constituency faithfully to the extent of my ability. I have devoted, and shall, if re-elected, continue to devote, my whole time to my Parliamentary duties, knowing from experience that efficient attention to them demands the relinquishment of all other regular occupation. When Parliament has not been sitting I have occupied myself with county work, especially in my own district. I live in your midst. I know your wants and wishes. Whether you desire me to remain your representative or not, I shall be well content with your verdict.

ANDW. JOHNSTON.

Woodford, 27th January, 1874.

TO the ELECTORS of the SOUTHERN DIVISION of the COUNTY of ESSEX.

GENTLEMEN,—

The dissolution of Parliament announced to the Country through Mr. Gladstone's Address to the Constituency of Greenwich makes it necessary for me to seek a renewal of that confidence which you first reposed in me in 1857.

The work of the expiring Parliament should be a matter of congratulation to the Liberal party; many substantial reforms have been accomplished, and whilst the ordinary Revenue of the Country has amply provided for the public charges, and many exceptional items of expenditure have been provided for, Taxes to the extent of Twelve millions have been taken off, the National Debt reduced, and the surplus Revenue is now so great as to enable the Government to determine upon the abolition of the Income Tax. With such a past, have we not the best assurance of a prosperous financial future?

Although the subject of finance has been brought into great prominence at this juncture of public affairs, I am not unmindful of the importance of the reforms needed in the Education Act of 1870, in Local Government and Taxation, and of the many other subjects awaiting the action of the Legislature.

Should you again honour me with your confidence, I shall, in dealing with these subjects, ever bear in mind what has hitherto been my guide in public life, that we legislate not for classes or for creeds, but for all our countrymen.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

R. B. WINGFIELD BAKER.

Orsett Hall, 27th January, 1874.



# TO the ELECTORS of the CITY of WESTMINSTER.

GENTLEMEN,—  
Your late member, Captain Grosvenor, having expressed his intention of retiring from Parliament, I beg to offer myself as a Candidate for the honour of representing the City of Westminster in the House of Commons.

I do so as a Liberal and as a supporter of Mr. Gladstone's Government, but I claim the right, without which a seat in Parliament would in my opinion be valueless, of exercising thorough independence in all my votes.

During the late Parliament, Acts have been passed which will long be remembered as honourable to the Liberal Party. Among them the most prominent are the Acts relating to the Irish Church and Irish Land, and those that deal with the Endowed Schools and Elementary Education. Their influence for good, great as it is at present, will, I believe, be found to increase yet more in the future.

The School Boards are growing in popularity and efficiency, and will, I hope, continue to extend until they cover the whole country. This result need in no degree affect the usefulness of the Voluntary Schools.

At a period of exceptional prosperity, the duty, I believe, lies upon the Country of making greater and more systematic efforts for the reduction of the National Debt.

I recognise the great importance of diminishing imperial and local expenditure, and I rejoice to see that the Premier finds himself able to propose such large remissions of direct and indirect taxation.

I shall give my hearty support to any efforts which have for their object the revision of the rating system, and the improvement of the local government of the metropolis.

I trust that the war on the Gold Coast may be brought to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion, and that it will impress upon the country a sense of the wisdom and the duty of avoiding all engagements with uncivilised races, but such as are clear and well defined.

Should I have the honour of becoming your representative, I trust that I shall be found always ready to further your local interests.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

14, Grosvenor-crescent, S.W., Jan. 24, 1874.

# TO the ELECTORS of HERTFORDSHIRE.

GENTLEMEN,—

On the sudden dissolution of Parliament, I venture again to present myself before you, and to ask for a continuance of those favours which it has been my great honour to enjoy for the eight years which have passed since I first had the good fortune to win your confidence.

My conduct in Parliament is before you, and will at least show that I have endeavoured to support the great principles which received the national sanction at the last election, and that I have given my warm support to the measures which have been founded on them.

The judgment of the country is asked upon the treatment of a series of questions which have already been disposed of; but whatever may be its present decision, or through whatever period of repose or inaction it may elect to pass, I cannot doubt that other questions of similar and even equal importance must some day engage its attention. Should I have a seat in the House of Commons, it would be my object to approach them in the sober, liberal spirit which I do not think has been wanting in the deliberations of the last Parliament—which measures, when they are to be measured, all institutions, pursuits, customs, and privileges, by the sole standard of public and national advantage—whilst carefully respecting the personal rights and interests of those who are connected with them.

Some of the measures passed by the last Parliament have not met with the approval of the entire Liberal party. The strength of our party for good, lies, of course, in its union, and in cases of divergence between its sections, all endeavours should be used to restore harmony, prejudices should be restrained, and principles receive their broadest interpretation. Though I regard the Education Act—in spite of obvious shortcomings—as a real step to a national system of instruction, yet upon those secondary, but important points, which are the subject of so much contention, I have voted for abolition of the powers (given by clause 28) which are regarded as a stumbling block by one party, with a view, had they been repealed, to conciliating a general support of the measure, and because I believe that there are not yet so many disinterested lovers of education, that we can afford on this side, more than on that, to alienate any one section of its earnest promoters.

Gentlemen, errors at one time or another during the last five years have been made by Her Majesty's Government, but I will venture still to express my confidence in the administrative and legislative ability of the leaders of the Liberal party, and I should especially regard it as a calamity if now, when the time seems ripe for revising and lightening the incidence of local taxation, and remedying other fiscal anomalies, the country were to be deprived of the services of indisputably the greatest financier of the age.

I shall take every opportunity that offers of presenting myself personally before you, and will conclude by stating my conviction that if it be firm, active, and united, the Liberal party in Hertfordshire will maintain with ease the great victory by which it so honourably distinguished itself at the last election.

I remain, Gentlemen, yours faithfully,

HENRY COWPER.

Panshanger, Monday, Jan. 26, 1874.

# TO the ELECTORS of HERTFORDSHIRE.

GENTLEMEN,—

I appeal to you for a renewal of the confidence which you placed in me at the last General Election.

Since that period I have been enabled, by means of your support, to assist by my vote in Parliament the passing of several measures of lasting benefit to the country. The means of education have been placed within reach of every child in the country; the great national Universities have been opened to all classes of the people; the Purchase of Commissions in the Army has been abolished; and Parliament has done two great acts of justice to Ireland in passing the Church and the Land Acts.

With regard to the Education Act (1870), some difference of opinion has been unhappily aroused; I believe that it will not be difficult so to amend that Act as to insure the cordial co-operation of all sects and parties in carrying its provisions into effect.

There are several questions of great importance which will demand the attention of the new Parliament.

I cordially approve of the Prime Minister's proposals with respect to the remission of Imperial taxation, and the readjustment and relief of local burdens.

The laws relating to land, the laws respecting the sale of spirituous liquors, and the laws respecting game, will deserve early attention.

I will give my hearty support to measures for cheapening

the process of the transfer and sale of land, and for securing to the tenant farmer compensation for unexhausted improvements, feeling assured that by such means all classes interested in the cultivation of the land will be benefited.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

HENRY ROBERT BRAND.

Royston, Jan. 24, 1874.

# HERTFORDSHIRE ELECTION.

The LONDON COMMITTEE for conducting the election of the Hon. H. F. COWPER and H. R. BRAND, Esq., SITS DAILY at MR. AUSTIN'S OFFICES, 62, Coleman-street, City.

ROBERT PRYOR, Chairman.

J. F. BONIEMS, Secretary.

N.B.—Polling-day Tuesday, Feb. 10. Full instructions will be sent in due course.

# TO the ELECTORS of the NORTHERN DIVISION of the WEST RIDING of YORKSHIRE.

21, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.

GENTLEMEN,—

At the request of the representatives of the Liberal party, I beg to offer myself, in concert with Mr. Wilson, as a candidate for the honour of representing you in Parliament.

I trust that no lengthened exposition of my political principles, and no new pledges as to my future course, are required when I ask for your continued support.

I venture to point to my conduct throughout the seven years in which I have had the honour of being your member as the best expression of my views. During the two Parliaments in which I have represented you, marked as they have been by as great a series of legislative measures as our modern political history has ever recorded, I have as an independent member given a constant and hearty support to the statesmen whose labours have produced these results.

In August last you sanctioned, by re-electing me, my acceptance of office as a member of the present Ministry. That Ministry has grappled with deep-seated evils under which Ireland had long suffered. It has, in times of no ordinary difficulty, maintained peace with all the civilised Powers, and has made that peace more secure by the example it has set of appealing to the principle of International Arbitration for the removal of the causes of discord. It has abolished Purchase in the Army and the evils of patronage in the Civil Service. It has diminished the expenditure in our Army and Navy at a time when the other nations of Europe have been year by year devoting an ever-increasing proportion of their resources to the purposes of war, whilst it has maintained at least as firmly as before the power and security of the Empire. And, lastly, in spite of all the difficulties surrounding the subject, it has passed measures which provide that at no distant date education, alike elementary and advanced, shall be as widely diffused in this kingdom as in any other country.

I own and deeply regret that the introduction and the working of the Elementary Education Act, which has secured this last result, has been attended with grave differences of opinion in the Liberal party. I should gladly welcome any proposals which, without endangering the moral and religious training of our schools, should remove this hindrance to the complete efficiency of our system. I am sanguine that fuller experience of the working of the Act will enable us in time to remove any defects which may exist.

The coming elections will not only record the judgment of the country on the transactions of the past, but will decide the spirit in which the administration is to be conducted throughout the new Parliament. Whether in office or in opposition the Liberal party has for many years been in power, and the current of legislation has steadily set in the direction of progress and reform. It is for the electors now to decide whether or not this shall continue, and whether the various important questions now pending shall be dealt with in this same spirit, or in that of reaction and Conservatism.

The marvellous growth of the resources of the country under the influence of free-trade, combined with wise management of its finances and steady resistance to the pressure for increased expenditure, have resulted within the last five years in relief to the taxpayer to the annual amount of £12,800,000; and in a reduction of the National Debt of £20,000,000.

The removal of the Income Tax, the further relief of the consumer from indirect taxation, and the settlement of the question of local taxation in such a manner as to combine diminution of local burdens with the improvement of our system of local government, are required to complete the great work of financial reform begun by Sir Robert Peel and continued by Mr. Gladstone. The all but certain prospect of a surplus of £5,000,000 enables the Chancellor of the Exchequer to look forward with confidence to securing these objects in the first session of the new Parliament, should the verdict of the country maintain his Administration in power.

On these grounds I venture to ask for the support of the Liberal party. On three occasions the united action of the Liberal party has resulted in my election without a contest. I shall await the result of the present election with the utmost confidence, believing, as I do, that the defeat of 1872 was due solely to accidental causes, and that this great constituency is true as of old to the cause of peace, retrenchment, and reform.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

F. C. CAVENDISH.

January 27, 1874.

# TO the ELECTORS of the NORTHERN DIVISION of the WEST RIDING of YORKSHIRE.

GENTLEMEN,—

Chosen by a numerous and representative body of the Liberal party in this great constituency as a candidate in conjunction with Lord Frederick Cavendish, at the pending election, I most willingly accept the position. My political action has ever been in support of the measures to which Mr. Gladstone refers in his address to the electors of Greenwich, and if you do me the honour to return me to Parliament as your representative, my best endeavours will be cordially given in support of the objects foreshadowed in Mr. Gladstone's programme. I trust, therefore, you will feel such an interest in the continuance in office of the present Government and in the measures which Mr. Gladstone has placed before the country as will induce you to return me as one of your representatives.

The Education Question has excited the greatest interest in the country at large, and some expression of my opinion on that subject may be reasonably expected.

I am in favour of the universal establishment of School Boards, and distinctly averse to the appropriation of public money for denominational purposes. I would also seek to accommodate the 25th Clause of the Elementary Education Act to the wishes of those to whom it is obnoxious, and in case of failure I should vote for its repeal. I intend to visit as many of the polling places in the division as practicable during the limited time which is at disposal before the day of election, and it will be my earnest wish and endeavour to

give to every elector the fullest opportunity of receiving from me such explanations of my opinions as he may desire.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

MATHEW WILSON.

Eshton Hall, Jan. 27, 1874.

# TO the ELECTORS of EAST WORCESTER-SHIRE.

GENTLEMEN,—

At the request of many political friends I respectfully present myself as a CANDIDATE to represent you in Parliament.

For more than thirty years I have been an owner of extensive works, employing a large number of hands, in the King's Norton and Oldbury Districts of this Division, and am thus closely allied with your local interests.

Having no personal ambition to enter Parliament, I should not have become a candidate, but for the desire to contribute towards the repeal of certain odious laws which, from a deep conscientious conviction, confirmed by some considerable study of their practical working, I hold to be both immoral and unconstitutional—I refer to the Contagious Disease Acts relating to women.

I have always been in favour of the Franchise for every man of full age and sound mind, untainted by crime, and not a burden on the ratepayers. As to the question of Women Suffrage, I think that taxation and representation should go together. It will be after my time if more is demanded, and I may leave to posterity its own work.

I favour the assimilation of the County to the Borough Franchise, and think this measure of justice ought not to be delayed.

I have observed, with satisfaction, that the subject of Leases, and the relations of Landlord and Tenant, are being freely discussed in Chambers of Agriculture, and am satisfied that a wise measure in relation to Tenant Right would be advantageous to all persons connected with the Agricultural interests of our country. I am glad that this subject is in the hands of Mr. James Howard, with whom I am acquainted; and I should support the measure which in the late Parliament was brought forward by him and Mr. Clare Read.

Having always been desirous of seeing Education extended to every child in the kingdom, I hoped that all parties would have been able to unite in carrying out the system of simple Bible reading and teaching advocated by the British and Foreign School Society; but as this course has not been adopted in carrying out the Education Act of 1870, which in its practical working has disclosed many difficulties, I should have been glad if some such measure as was recently suggested by the Rev. Canon Melville for the reception of indigent children in State-aided schools without fee, had been accepted, by which these difficulties might have been practically overcome. Nothing has been done in this direction, and I am, therefore, in favour of the repeal of the 25th clause of the Education Act.

I hold that the universal establishment of School Boards and compulsory attendance at school are essential steps in attaining a system of education which shall be truly national.

I approve of the principle of popular control over public-house licences by means of local representative bodies.

As a member of the Society of Friends, I am naturally in favour of diminished armaments and of international arbitration and non-intervention of the affairs of foreign nations.

I think it of the utmost importance that, amid the throng of home questions pressing for decision, we should never lose sight of our responsibilities in distant parts of our great Empire. It can only be for want of vigilance on the part both of constituencies and legislators that the cultivation of, and traffic in opium has been permitted to arise and spread desolating effects both in India and China. This question and the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade, wherever our rule or our treaty influence prevail, will receive my earnest attention.

In conclusion, I will merely add that, if returned to Parliament, I shall give hearty support to Mr. Gladstone's Ministry whenever I can conscientiously do so.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

A. ALBRIGHT.

Mariemont, Edgbaston, February 2, 1874.

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# REPORT, 1873.

The 49th Annual Report just issued, and the Balance Sheets for the year ending June 30, 1873, as rendered to the Board of Trade, can be obtained at either of the Society's Offices, or of any of its Agents.

GEORGE CUTCLIFFE, Actuary and Secretary.

MR. COOKE BAINES, SURVEYOR and VALUER, PREPARES and NEGOTIATES COMPENSATION CLAIMS for Property Compulsorily taken for Railways and other Improvements, and also Value property for every purpose.—26, Finsbury-place, Moorgate-street, E.C.

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**RUPTURES.**

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are warranted to cure Corns, Bunions, and enlarged Toe Joints in a few applications. Boxes, 1s. 1½d., of all chemists.—PEPPER, 237, Tottenham-court-road, London. By post 14 stamps.

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\* Invalids should read Crosby's Prize Treatise on "Diseases of the Lungs and Air Vessels," a copy of which can be had gratis of all Chemists.

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At the close of the ballot the following were declared to be SUCCESSFUL, subject to a scrutiny being demanded before the 3rd of February:—

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After a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Scrutineers for their trouble in taking the ballot, the proceedings terminated.

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